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PSYCHE AND EROS

(Successor to Zentralblatt für Psychoanalyse)

Vol. II.

MAY-JUNE

Number 3

A Case of Hysteria With Facial Paresthesia*

By Samuel A. Tannenbaum, M. D., New York

[By this time our patient, Mrs. A., had got considerable insight into matters which had been obscure to her and which had made a failure of her marriage. She realized that happiness in marriage had a psychological as well as a spiritual aspect and basis, and that the spiritual was largely (if not exclusively) founded in the former. This view might lead to the conclusion that men—and women, too—were animals,—and so they are! animals before human beings, carnal before spiritual. To make all this clear to her I had explained the anatomical and physiological sexual phenomena in the human organism, as well as the sexual functions of the spinal cord and the brain, and, finally, the influence of the brain on the spinal cord and vice versa. In doing this I did not omit to stress the role of the gonadal (testicular, ovarian) endocrines. To an idealist, i. e., to a person who refuses to see the facts of life, all this is very materialistic, but the scientist has only one god—Truth. And the patient won't get well unless he comes

*Continued from *Psyche and Eros*, Vol. II, pp. 107-119.

around to the same point of view.]

Session 8.—I still love my husband but am losing my taste for him. Last night I made him stay up till 2 o'clock to tell him what I had learned, to tell him that I would always love him but that after my analysis I may leave him rather than continue to lead that kind of animal life. I stripped his soul, showed him he had lied to me, that he had been more intimate with Julia than he had admitted to me. In the letter I had opened he had spoken of holding her in his arms and of "the tenderest caress of all,"—that meant fondling her breasts. He had sent her my favorite books, quoted my favorite phrases, recommended my favorite poems! He denies any sexual relationship with her,—Oh! of course there wasn't any. I am sure of that! That I could never forgive! But he lied to me; he lied when he said he went to that town to buy a tombstone for his father,—he did not buy that stone but "went fishing for two weeks." I forced an admission from him that he went to her immediately on getting off the train,—that he embraced her,—put his hand on her breast,—but there was

no coitus. His excuse for all this was that he was hungry for love but wasn't getting any from me. . . . To me coitus is a holy thing, almost a form of religious worship, and illicit coitus an act of blasphemy. That's the view I am trying to impress on my son. [Here the patient goes into details about her manner of educating her son in sexual matters. That she made a hideous mess of it goes without saying; but considerations of space and of our more immediate purpose, as well as of the censor, forbid our reproducing this astounding tale.] He says my standard is too high.

Well, here's how my talk with my husband ended. He took me in his arms and swore I was his, his, his for eternity,—and poured love into my ears. He had learned his lesson! He'll have to show me! You have taught me I have rights as well as duties, and no one shall tread on me hereafter or make a doormat of me,—hereafter my pleasures, too, will have to be considered. From now on if I want lemon pie it will be lemon pie, and it will be strawberry short-cake for him as often as I think it fair to renounce my own preference, but I shall try to be fair, not self-sacrificing.

I continued living with Mr. A because I did not want to give up my dream of him; I wanted to go on thinking there was something big and fine in him. Besides, he was always tremendously kind to me, especially when I was sick,—and I was sick a great deal of the time [!] ever since our marriage. First there was the unwelcome pregnancy, and with it a sour stomach; then my shocking experiences with my husband; at

that time I wasn't in my own home and couldn't live my own life. I grieved terribly all the time. Then came the constant quarrelling between my husband and my son. And then the women! But I kept my family together. [At this point I explained to our patient that she had early realized that she had made a grievous mistake in her marriage, that she hated her husband, that her life had been a constant conflict between her love and her hate, that she had stuck to her husband because she was determined not to acknowledge even to herself that she had failed, that she had retained faith in her husband in spite of the evidence) so that she might not lose faith in herself.]

Here is something I have never spoken of to a soul; I have forgotten to tell you of it, truly I have. Mr. A loves me to kiss him "the French way"; I yield to him in that now and then. There is nothing in the world he loves more than that. To me there is much that is higher and better. [A reader who does not see a relationship between this practice, so objectionable to our patient, and the numbness of her tongue must be singularly obtuse. On the subject of glossophilia we shall have more to say on another occasion.]

To me marriage, I must confess it, means licensed immorality. I used to think that people got married only to exchange ideas and have each other's company. I never denied my husband's request for coitus; when I realized what my duty was I did it. Of course I shrank from him, shrank from his every touch,—every touch of his meant but one thing; it sapped my strength. My

life was just this: cooking, cleaning, entertaining my husband and—. I knew I had failed on the job.

Mr. A knows I am a God-fearing woman and accept what we call "our institutions", even marriage. I am always ready to submit to him but I do not like preliminaries, what you call forepleasure. Anatomically I am Mr. A's ideal,—you recollect that I had to be stretched. We do not seem to be mated well as to frequency; Luther's rule does not satisfy him, but I find it too much. I am not anesthetic except if I am worn out by excess. I'll admit that what is excess for me may not be so for him. But I belong to him, in body, soul and spirit. I have always told him: "Don't consider me; you'll always find me here whenever you want me!" To please him I'll do anything, even what disgusts me. I loathe penem osculari. There was a time when even ordinary coitus disgusted me and I could get no orgasm; that was when he neglected me and degraded me to the rank of mistress, by coming home only to sleep. I resent it terribly that Mr. A will insist *caput super montem ponere*, though this is nothing compared to the other thing—that which I consider a terrible perversion! My feelings next morning are indescribable. My polluted lips rise up before me. My son has to be considered in this matter; when I see him, greet him, preach cleanliness to him and try to bring him up with noble sex ideals, I can't help thinking how much rottener I am than he thinks me. I tell him about the dangers of venereal diseases, paint for him the horrors of blindness, locomotor ataxia, paralysis, insan-

ity. [Needless to say, I condemned this barbarous and illogical method of terrorizing the son into virtue. It is a sad commentary on human nature that the patient's efforts in her son's behalf were crowned with dismal failure.] I was a pure girl because I wanted to be good, not because I feared the consequences of immorality. [Here I make it clear to the patient that in her effort to be "good", to subdue her natural impulses, she had gone too far in the opposite direction and had thus unfitted herself for marriage. With an impotent man she might have been very happy.] I have spent twenty-two years trying to be like my husband but I have not succeeded in satisfying him.

Session 9.—[Patient shows evidences of being in very good humor, alert and buoyant.] Mr. A came home drunk last night; it still amuses me; this is the third time since we are married that he got drunk. He was so drunk I didn't dare go out to dinner with him. I haven't any doubt he was paying me back for what I had done to him the night before. He made me lie down by him and I got a whiff of liquor as he said, "God! how I love you!" I only said playfully, but seriously, "Where did we get it?" and "How many did we have?" But he was not in a joking mood and kept on saying, "God! how I love you! [Chuckles and chortles.] I'll love you all I can and as long as I can." I met this by telling him I was losing my taste for him. Then I was sorry for the great overgrown kid. You know he is spending his vacation money to get me cured, and he really needs a vacation. His libido was aroused, and so was mine, but

it was to be on my terms; I was surprised at my responsiveness; to tell the truth I think I invited him and he poured love into my ears. I wasn't as squeamish as I used to be! My hands found their use. I confessed to him I loved him and that he could never kill my love but that I hated the bad in him. Then he went out to dinner; I refused to accompany him and he had to let me have my way. Then I laughed and laughed and was so happy. Before he went out he said that this business of being on the level applied to both of us and that was why he hadn't disguised his alcoholic breath.

It's queer: you've changed my life and yet I can't put my finger on the spot that did it. I am doing a lot of thinking nowadays and do not sleep well. Am thinking a lot about my son, he is very nervous, bites his finger-nails, is afraid of storms, [etc., etc.]. Of late he repeats indecent jokes to me that he picks up in the street and at the camp. He is not ashamed to let me see him bathing and we both leave the bath-room door open when we bathe. He insists on my permitting him to begin sexual relations. A month or so ago he went into raptures about a pair of legs though, he assured me, his mind was on higher things. [Here I gave the patient instructions about the management of her son and pointed out the dangers of letting him sleep with her,—its effects on him and on her.]

From all you say about the development of the sexual impulse I infer that my husband's sexual development was improper, that the three of us are paying the price for our "innocence," that Mr. A has never had what you call ade-

quate gratification and that I was the cause of it. But I always looked at love from a different point of view. Passion makes me feel close to the divine, but it's got to be without frills. [I explain that "love" is not only a sublimation of the sexual impulse but also a rationalization of it.]

Session 10.—I am happier than I have been all my life; I've found the Blue Bird. Last night Mr. A and I had another long talk and he explained why he wanted me to make my will some time ago; it was really to provide for our boy. He had given me some bonds and feared that if I died they would be tied up. So that's all right. I am cured, my nervousness is gone and I would really like to know what did it. [Here I explained the significance of psychic conflict, and pointed out the conflict in her mind between her love and her hatred of her husband, the relationship between her apprehension neurosis and her unsatisfied love-life, the conflict between her sexual desires and her attempts to live on a spiritual plane, the significance of conversion hysteria, the purposes underlying her neurosis (to bind her husband to her, to punish him for his conduct, to punish the other woman, to get out of going on a vacation with Ada, to get out of gratifying her husband's special desires) and to punish herself for what she had permitted herself and her husband to indulge in. The numbness in the cheek, lips and tip of the tongue clearly emanated from the contacts cum membro virile, either as punishment or as constant reminders of what she must not permit herself to do. It must be noted that the sensations of choking and

a swelling of the face are not explained, —the analysis is not complete. Her "breakdown" was the realization of having failed as a wife, the desire to punish (terrify) her husband and coerce him to break with Julia.]

I wonder will you mind my telling you how happy I am that this great happiness in our lives, for Mr. A is as happy as I am, came to us through you, that is, through a Jew. You see we once passed through a very serious financial crisis through an unsatisfactory business with a Jew. You can see that that wasn't very helpful to me when I first came here.

I wonder whether you can explain why it was that before our smash-up all my dreams were of *indulging in coitus with Mr. A in public and in view of people*. [From my knowledge of Mrs. A I interpret this frequently recurring dream as meaning that she wished to show the world that her husband loved her; also that she wished her husband would show his love before all the world. Her own weak estimation of herself and of her charms demanded these public demonstrations as a kind of antidote.]

I don't think I need any more analysis but I'll stick until you tell me to quit. But I would like you to have a good talk with Mr. A, to give him a chance to tell his end of the story, and so I'll let him take my hour tomorrow.

Session 11.—[Mr. A calls and says he had to work his way through school, hence he loves to help boys (not girls) through college. He did not put his arm around a girl until he was twenty and he liked the sensation so much that since then he can't resist the temptation

to repeat that experience. He had always been curious about the anatomical differences of the sexes but could not satisfy his desire till after marriage. He always craved to have a sister and his mother had enjoined him to treat all women as if they were his sisters and he takes advantages of favorable opportunities to do so.

For fully five years after their marriage *constrictio cunni* made penetration impossible and all such attempts caused intense pain and resentments. *Dilatatio vaginae* and the removal of the cervical polyp did not mend matters. Of the reported bestiality he has absolutely no recollection; would not be ashamed to admit it.

He loves his wife and his son and would make any sacrifice for them; is furious if the son hurts Mrs. A's feelings, and loves to see the son and the mother affectionate to each other.

Coitus always gives Mrs. A a guilty feeling, though by nature she is anything but frigid, especially a few days before and after the menses. She always had some excuse, either it was too late or she was too tired. Mrs. A is an extremist in her housekeeping and is over-conscientious in her duties to others. When her father-in-law was sick, Mrs. A devoted day and night to him and became worn-out with work and worry,—that was just two years before her breakdown. "Then after that she would not tolerate any sexual advances and she often spoke of the possibility of our being "separated." This convinced me she had no more love for me, and last year she admitted she did not love me as much as she had years ago. It was after that

that I met Julia, purely accidentally. I was hungry for love. When I got home week-ends Mrs. A would have nothing but grievances against George for me to listen to. After the smash her libido increased enormously and for a while she thrived and got strong. There is nothing I will not give up if it will make her happy; but I don't consider it fair. To me *frictio linguae contra linguam in coitu* represents the acme of sensuous pleasure, but it is obnoxious to her. It's the most intimate physical relation I know of. After the crisis [Nov. 1919] she promised to learn to like it and she did; then when she found me embracing Ada she went back to her old ways. She never was averse to touching the phallus, but, curiously enough became furious if I attempted anything of the sort. 'That's mine!' she would snap out and push my hand away. I don't consider that fair. She has no reason for being jealous about Ada for I'd never marry her,—she is cold. This illness of my wife's has cost me almost \$3,000 in the last eight months and all we got for it is the information that she is suffering from hysteria."]

Session 12.—Mrs. A calls next day and says: I've got the dumps today; something you said does not agree with my ideas. Mr. A and I discussed his interview with you and I made it clear to him that I would leave him rather than indulge him in his desires, but he won't hear of my leaving him. If he continues to hurt me I'll not go on living with him. I proved to him that he had lied to you in the things he said in justification of his conduct with respect to other women. He had no excuse for embracing Ada; she didn't need his sympathy four weeks after her mother's death, and

he could have shown it some other way. And three months ago I saw him slip his arm around another girl and squeeze her arm. But I'm not hard on him; he is, no doubt, the victim of forces he does not understand. He is not a liar; his business associates trust him and have confidence in him. I was afraid you would hurt his feelings and I am glad you didn't.

"Our discussion almost ended in a quarrel when he said that I am a very passionate woman and that I had repressed my inclinations more than was good for me and that he was sure I'd develop into a wonderful woman. I got mad at that; it implied I would do what he craved for. By that time my left cheek had begun to pain [!not to be numb]; his remark was unfair and selfish. It had taken him years to train me to touch him with my hand; every such touch and every coitus was a blow and insult to my pride. [I explain again that her attitude to cohabitation and the fore-pleasure is abnormal; that to her coitus and sexual activities are evidently something lewd, wicked, vulgar, sinful; that she had gone too far in accepting the Manichean views hypocritically enunciated by moralists; that her present attitude represents her reaction to her "repressed" 'desires, and that it is fair to assume that her violent reactions are an index of her true sexual constitution.] Why did I think things sexual wicked even when I was a young girl? [I remind her of the sexual transgressions in her childhood and the consequent consciousness of guilt.] But how can that be? A child has no sexual feeling. [I explain the prevalence and significance of infantile sexuality.]

My husband is changing for the bet-

ter; I have been changing for him for the past twenty-two years. I am always willing to accommodate him, out of a spirit of fairness, as long as I can keep my self-respect. He must not touch another woman,—that's hell for me. Often I coax him to conjugal embraces so as to make it unnecessary for him to roam.

New Thought has taught me that the subconscious is all that is good; you tell me that these obscurer impulses in me and my reactions are primitive,—to me that means evil. I do not like to think that our natural impulses are evil. [In reply to this I explain man's position in the animal kingdom as an animal, a product of evolution, a biological machine; the role that man's instincts have played in his evolution from savagery to modern culture, such as it is; the fate of the natural impulses and the role of sublimation.]

[A few hours after the above session Mr. A called, saying he had omitted to tell me a few things I ought to know before I judge him or advise his wife. One night in 1911, his wife had come upon him suddenly while he was in the bath-room indulging in onanism. The sight seemed to make her mad; she seized him by the throat and choked him with all her might, at the same time screaming at the top of her voice: "Go'-dam you, I hate you! I hate you! I hate you!" Had she been strong enough she would have killed him; as it was, he had pain in swallowing for fully six months. That night she sang sing-song and was so hysterical that a physician had to be summoned and hypos administered. In the morning she seemed to have forgotten all about it and spoke of his goodness and kindness. He continues:]

"I may have some slight perverse inclinations, but I am not perverted. [In this he is right.] I do not want fellatio; but I discovered that she loses her frigidity and stolidity if I kiss *montem venerem*; I have therefore practiced cunnilingus three or four times. At times she is sufficiently aroused *osculari penem*. Strangely enough, after the crash last November nothing was repugnant to her. I want her to be happy and to enjoy coitus, to feel that her body is mine as much as mine is hers. If she did not repulse me all the time I would not be so prone to lay my hands on other women. With me love is everything; I am affectionate to everything that lives; to love is to caress. I am happy in making others happy. But I am resolved to comply with my wife's wishes; hereafter I shall keep my hands off other women, lavish all my affection on her—if she will let me, and to insist that in all things she is to do in accordance with her own likings, not mine."

Session 13.—I believe in re-incarnation and you can't destroy my faith. [Behind this belief may be a desire to enjoy in a future life what one cannot have in this one.] I love to make people happy. [I make it clear to Mrs. A that behind this apparent altruism are numerous egoistic motives; vanity, the will for power, the desire to put people under obligations, atonement for actual or fantasy sins or crimes, etc.] Here is a **strange thing**: since my marriage I have dreamt about fifteen times of a young man I knew in my girlhood. In all these dreams *he wants to touch me or do something but cannot do so because of some barrier between us*. He is married now but he still thinks I belong to him and when we meet his wife is jealous. [The signifi-

cance of this dream is obvious. The barrier is Mr. A and the young man's wife. The adulterous fantasy is due to her failure to get sexual satisfaction.]

Mr. A told you how near I came to choking him. That night I had been alone while he was out visiting friends. He came in after midnight but did not come to bed for a long time; so I went to look for him, thinking something had happened to him, and found him . . . as he told you. It was as bad a shock as the one I experienced after our marriage. I realized with full force that I had failed as a wife. Onanism played no role in my life, except once in my girlhood, after my beau had visited me. Of course I may have forgotten; I recall many things now that I have not thought of in years; once I was terribly frightened when I found myself home alone with the colored woman. My finger was badly crushed in my babyhood but I have no recollection of it. When I was three years old there was a great event in my life; my father brought me a gift! To think that my father did such a thing. I didn't think fathers ever did that.

I had a choking attack eight weeks ago. A few weeks ago my left cheek began to get numb and I asked Mr. A to read me something light, non-sexual, and then the numbness disappeared. [From this it would appear justifiable tentatively to suggest, as I did, that the numbness of the cheek comes on with the advent of a sexual fantasy or desire and is dispelled when that desire is overcome. In other words, Mrs. A is in conflict between a desire to gratify her husband and an aversion to gratifying him. That she has an intense craving for cunnilingus is certain,—hence her violent reaction to it.

The attacks of numbness in the left (!) cheek began just after the crash—when "nothing was repugnant to her,"—in other words, when she was willing to submit to anything rather than lose her husband. She made a pretence of urging him to be divorced and marry Julia—but it was only pretence.]

The feeling that I was choking came to me eight weeks ago; it was so bad that I looked in the mirror to see if my throat was really swollen. It may be of significance that I got this feeling just after the Ada incident. [I explained to Mrs. A what a conversion hysteria is, how an idea may find expression in a bodily symptom and that her choking sensation was the recoil of her desire to choke Mr. A or Ada, or both, and that in all probability in her fantasies she avenged herself by choking those who did her an injury. We recall that she choked Mr. A one night so that she almost killed him. Her symptom may have served as a warning to her not to choke him.] I was a bit resentful towards Ada but I tried to keep such thoughts out of my mind. My husband promised me never to kiss her again although that might hurt her feelings. I grinned inwardly when he said that and told him: "just you hurt all the girls' feelings and save mine."

Session 14.—You must be a pessimist; something about your teachings leaves me cold; there is no place in it for love; you're too hard and cold. [I try to make it clear to Mrs. A that what she calls "love" is mysticism and that her objections to my philosophy are the manifestation of her resistance to normal sexual relationship, of her defence against her perverse cravings.] You've taught me an awful lot and because of you Mr.

A and I shall live happily. I quoted Jesus to him last night: an eye for an eye; but he preached love to me. [To overcome their hatred of each other.] The night I almost choked him I did hate him; then I lay in bed and said nothing but thought and thought; I saw that he was frightened to death; so I faked being unconscious and he summoned a physician. My world was shattered. To me onanism was an awful thing; I had heard terrible things about it. When I woke in the morning I found a nurse at my bedside. My husband always is scared to death when I am sick. [A good reason for chronic invalidism,—the tyranny of a sick wife.] Oh, he is humble now! He phones me daily now, even from long distance, to know how I feel. He swore last night he'd never give me up, he could not face life without me.

Oh, dreams?! Sugar on dreams! I don't dream much; religious talk about dreams disgusts me. I used to take sleeping powders nightly,—but I don't need them any more, thanks to you. Why, some days as I go out of here I just feel as if I were walking on air, I am so happy; some days my head is full of a lot of stuff I don't understand. I don't believe **all you say; you are clever** in turning everything against me.

All will go well now and I am through with being sick if Mr. A will stop assisting widows,—he's been helpful to three that I know of; if he stops sending Ada's family money—which he has been doing of late though they don't need it; if he stops putting his hands on other women, and if he stops being jealous of our boy. He says I have nothing to fear from Ada, that Ada is "cold", but he has no business to know whether

she is cold or not. He has no business to rouse her sexuality; she can be aroused,—all women can. The greatest hurt he did me was to make love to Ada so soon after the November crash. Yesterday he was on his knees to me, pleading to give him another chance. I'll keep him guessing and I'll keep him going straight.

Session 15.—My life has been ruled by fear. A number of times this summer I feared George might drown while at camp; have had the same fear about Mr. A. [This is probably a manifestation of a desire to be free from her family.] About once a year I dream of teaching school again. I used to love my work as a teacher and was so happy at it. But in these dreams I am always having trouble. Most of my dreams are unpleasant. [This dream confirms the above interpretation as to a desire to be free and to be restored to her girlhood.]

Mr. A is making a perfect fool of himself now, the way he woos me all the time. He worships me and assures me his only object in life will be to make me happy. But I won't submit to cunnilingus, nor will I gratify him in accordance with his inclinations. Love should be on a higher plane.

Tell me does hate always mean a desire to kill? [Yes.] Then, I suppose I did mean to kill my husband when he hurt my feelings. [I explain now that her choking sensation may be a warning to her not to jump at her husband's throat as she is often tempted to do.] That must be it. Well, now I have the key to life and I know that I was largely if not wholly, responsible for what came to me; it was due me for my ignorance. You said yesterday that our dreams of ten are imaginary fulfilments of our

wishes. Last night I fell asleep wishing George could come to New York to celebrate his birthday and I dreamt that he came in a big motor car!

My left cheek got numb with the slightest excitement, since last autumn. The right cheek followed suit only twice. The left cheek became numb whenever I got excited, or if I entered into a conversation enthusiastically, or if I gave an imitation of somebody. Whenever the right cheek got numb the throat too was involved and it was painful to articulate and my tongue was thick. [The patient has a strong exhibitionistic tendency, prides herself on her reading, her voice, her dramatic powers (imitates people, especially actors), and wanted to become a public orator, an elocutionist. Fantasies of being free from her family and making a career for herself through her voice may be exhibited by her throat symptoms.] Why is it that at times only my left cheek troubles me? [Explain the symbolic significance of the left side and refer to the possibility that that was the offending cheek. This ended the session and our analysis. The patient left in fine spirits. A week later I had a letter from her that they had returned home and were very happy. Four months later, in reply to a letter of inquiry, she wrote me that all was well.]

Commentary

I have reported the case of Mrs. A, a simple case of conversion-hysteria, in such detail not as an illustration of skill in treating psychoneuroses or as a bid for patients, or as confirmation of psychoanalytic principles, or as proving the efficacy of psychotherapeutics or the curableness of a psychoneurosis, but to supply physicians and psychologists of

whatever school with an accurate and faithful case-history, with an absolutely truthful report of the patient's and my contributions to the treatment. In other words, this history aims to be as purely an objective and scientific presentation of clinical data as it is possible to have. My own contributions are sharply differentiated from those of the patient. All psychoanalysts and psychotherapists, not to mention others, are accustomed to commit the logical error of reporting their "findings" when in reality they are reporting only their interpretations. And in most instances these interpretations ("findings") are nothing more nor less than suggestions. In the case of Mrs. A I had resolved from the moment she entered my office to take a purely objective attitude toward her, to make no suggestions, not to lead her, to answer only direct questions, and not to preach to her or scold her under the disguise of preaching, not to guide her thoughts in any particular channel, to risk a therapeutic failure in the behalf of science. The magazine article that Mr. A had read and which decided him to bring his wife to me for treatment had said nothing clearly about the psychoanalytic theories. I knew this and therefore knew that Mrs. A was free from psychoanalytic ideas and would make a good subject for an experiment in psychoanalysis. The reason for wanting to make such an experiment, even at the risk of not curing a patient who came to me from a distant town, cannot be detailed here. But I may say that I had grown to doubt some of the conclusions of the psychoanalytic school; some of their tenets impressed me more like articles of faith than scientific deductions, and I was sceptical about many of the

case reports. Besides, I had been forcibly impressed by the unscientific and illogical character of a great deal of what was being written by the exponents (champions) as well as by the critics (enemies) of psychoanalysis. As a scientific psychotherapist I am not a disciple of any school of psychotherapeutics whether headed by Janet, Freud, Adler, Jung, Seiff, Babinski, Dubois, etc., etc.; as a practical psychotherapist I am willing at times to sacrifice "scientific" principles if I can thereby achieve a cure,—to this end I would on occasion even recommend Christian Science, Theosophy, New-Thought, Chiropractic, Osteopathy, or even plain old-fashioned Religion (of any denomination), and then as a psychologist I would try to learn how the method I had applied or recommended brought about the cure.

The above paragraph contains, by implication, the explanation of the unusually voluminous notes that I took in this case. In a large psychoanalytic practice it is absolutely impossible to record everything all the patients say. In specially selected cases this can be done and occasionally should be done, not for the purpose of convincing doubting Thomases but as material for study, exactly as specimens of pathological tissues are preserved by specialists in other branches of medicine. This consideration outweighs any reasons that may be brought against the practice of attempting to make a faithful record of the patient's utterances during the sessions. No one's memory can be trusted to reproduce after the session all that the patient has said, and I would not have the patience to do so. Considerations of the censor have, however, caused me to modify the patient's words here and there.

The diagnosis in this case admitted of no question once I heard the patient's story. Consequently I made no physical examination. In a case not so certainly hysterical in nature a careful physical examination is absolutely essential even if for no other purpose than to be able to assure the patient that the diagnosis made by others is of one's own knowledge correct. Besides, it has happened often enough that patients are sent to the analyst with incorrect diagnoses and there is no reason why the analyst and the patient should suffer for physicians' mistakes. Then, too, patients always have much greater confidence in a medical analyst than in a lay analyst. The reasons for this are obvious. Physicians are certainly less likely to treat a cancer of the stomach, chronic pulmonary tuberculosis, a cerebral tumor, chronic encephalitis, or demoralized percoxy by analysis than a lay analyst is.

That in this case I did not treat the patient after the methods recommended in most of the current text books, i. e., by some variety of suggestion, e. g., electricity, massage, hydrotherapy, chiropractic, bromides, endocrines, etc., is due to my conviction that Charcot, Janet and Breuer (not Freud) have proved that functional neuroses of this kind are psychogenetic and that Breuer, Freud, Stekel and others have proved that the most satisfactory treatment of these cases is the psychoanalytic method. There is no question that any of the methods mentioned above might in time have been followed by a cessation of the symptoms but then we should not have had any explanation of the meaning and the origin of the symptoms and we should not have had any light thrown on

the mechanism of the cure. And here it must be admitted that Psychoanalysis, as practiced by the vast majority of analysts, Freud included, is nothing but suggestion. To begin the treatment of a case with a lecture on the unconscious, repression, the wish-fulfilment character of the symptoms, etc., (Cf. S. E. Jelliffe, *The Technique of Psycho-Analysis*, 1921) is out and out suggestion; it sets the patient's mind in a definite direction and awakens in him the expectation of a cure through finding a meaning for each of his symptoms. If the "transference" (i. e. the patient's confidence) is adequate this trick will work; if not, the patient will seek out another physician. That the usual practice "works" in many cases does not make it science, any more than successful Christian Science is science. Cures thus obtained do not prove the truth of the theory or the validity of the technique employed. A scientist wants grounds more relevant than that. This is the more true if one is going to extend one's "findings," as Freud and his disciples have done, to the founding of a new philosophy of life and to a new interpretation of the products of man's evolution, (art, religion, language, etc.). Because of these and other considerations I refrained from telling Mrs. A anything; she knew (from the aforesaid magazine article) that she had to tell her life-history to the Doctor, but she had no idea why or how this would help her. And she told it.

Not to influence the patient's "associations," i. e., not to make suggestions to her, I did not put any psychoanalytic literature in her hands. All psychoanalysts assert that it is bad practice to let a patient read such literature, in-

asmuch as it is sure or likely to increase the patient's resistances by focusing his attention on repugnant sexual themes. In actual practice most analysts violate this rule of theirs, "in exceptional cases," as a means of enlightening the patient on certain fundamentals and thus saving time. Unquestionably the reading of psychoanalytic literature, after "positive transference" has been established, does stimulate the patient's memory and make for more rapid progress. But the real (unrationalised) reason for placing such literature in a patient's hands—and in every instance the analyst puts his own writings into his patient's hands!—is to promote transference (i. e., to beget confidence) by showing the patient how clever, how learned, how almost god-like his analyst is. In other words, here too we have a form of suggestion or a mild form of hetero- and auto-hypnosis. If the intended effect, i. e., positive transference, has been brought about, the patient may now be relied upon to dream and interpret his symptoms in accordance with that particular analyst's theories. This may and often does lead to a cure but the results obtained cannot logically be said to confirm the analyst's theories or to represent the analyst's "findings." The analyst gets out only what he put in. Freud's patients dream of sex, Adler's of the will for power, etc. This being so, why do we not encourage all patients to read psychoanalytic literature or begin the treatment by giving them a text-book to read? Obviously because experience has shown that unless positive transference has been brought about, and this is often enough apparent even at the first session, the analyst who shows his hand

(i. e., his theories, his "mechanisms," etc.) is in the same position with reference to his patients as a conjuror who would expect to deceive his audience after he had explained how he does his tricks. There is good scientific reason, then, for my not having given Mrs. A any "literature" on psychoanalysis.

As additional precaution against "suggestion" I did not depart from the ordinary medical practice of having the patient face me as she talked. The position advocated by Freud, i. e., the patient lying on a couch and facing away from the analyst, is very objectionable to some patients and, owing to its unusualness, introduces a hocus-pocus element into the treatment which is undesirable in a scientific experiment (such as the treatment of this case was to be). In the treatment of the ordinary case, where therapeutic success is the chief desideratum, the position advocated by Freud is unquestionably of great value.

Offhand the casual reader of Mrs. A's case would say that her neurosis was a typical anxiety neurosis with conversion symptoms and that the cause of her malady was "sexual." To a Freudian this would mean that she was suffering from a non-gratification of her specific libido impulses, that she had not been getting sexual gratification of the particular kind that her psycho-physical constitution craved for, that there were conflicts in her mind between her cravings (coitus, cunnilingus, fellatio, etc.) and her conscience (moral, religious, esthetic) that her perverse desires had been repressed, that the attempted repression

had failed, and that the symptoms were the compromise formations between the repressive tendency and the upward-surging cravings. Her fear (anxiety, apprehension) would be interpreted either as the conversion of her repressed desires or as her reaction to her repressed desires. The disease as a whole would be regarded as a "refuge" from her conflicts, as an escape from the problems confronting her. The numbness in the cheeks, lips and tongue would be explained as manifestations of the cutaneous and oro-glossal libido impulses, i. e., as masked gratifications of the erogenous functions of the skin of the cheeks and of the mucous membranes of the lips and the tongue. The choking sensation would, in all likelihood, be interpreted as a form of self-punishment for having once tried to choke her husband or as a reaction to a repressed fellatio fantasy. The other symptoms too would probably be given an additional interpretation as unconscious penitential or punitive measures. In the numbness some analysts would probably also find evidence of an unconscious wish for her husband's death. Incestuous desires for her son would unquestionably find a prominent place in some of the analysts' interpretations. And Adler would find it all a struggle for power, a vigorous masculine protest and compensation for her constitutional inferiority (she *was* a "plain Jane"). The Oedipus complex, of either the Jung or the Freud variety, would dominate the analysis of every other orthodox analyst.

(To Be Continued.)

Beyond Psychoanalysis

(Reflections on Dr. Sigm. Freud's "*Jen-seits des Lustprinzips*," 1920.)

By Herbert Silberer, Vienna.

Freud's recently published essay of 60 pages, as slight in volume as it is weighty in content, marks an epoch in his theory of the impulses. His discussion deals chiefly with biological matters. I believe myself justified, therefore, in at once proceeding to consider this aspect of the subject. For reasons that will appear later, I purpose taking my stand on the fundamental concept of teleology (purposiveness in organic nature).

Whatever attitude we may take to the question of the causes of teleologism in organic nature, the fact of its existence remains. Since Darwin we have been accustomed to look upon it as the product of selection. The ordered world of living things adapted to their ends is due not to a mysterious and almost supernatural striving for a goal, but to an inevitable natural process. All manner of influences effect changes in every living species. Some of these variations (modifications) are, accidentally but necessarily, advantageous, others detrimental. It is clear that those creatures which are more advantageously equipped are better off in the struggle for existence, their acquired characteristics are inherited, they multiply, and the resulting "better" endowed species hold their ground and endure, whereas those "poorly" endowed gradually die out. And

thus variation, selection and heredity beget the deceptive appearance of a previously-planned scheme of evolution.

Objections calculated to undermine this theory of descent on purely logical principles are, for the most part, only sophisms. The theory is said to rest upon a vicious circle which deduces purposiveness from purposiveness; in other words, that the organisms are purposively constructed because purposively constructed organisms survive and they survive because they are purposively constructed. This is the kind of error one commits when arguing that a certain region has a cold climate because it contains vast quantities of ice and that its having so much ice is due to the very cold climate. But the matter is different as regards the theory of descent inasmuch as it includes among the arguments new facts which are not contained in the premises. The argument is not an endless chain, for it rather specifies as the first fact in the argument for descent an accidental occurrence and does not lay claim to an insight into the temporarily unrecognizable and incomprehensible provocations to the occurrence, viz.: the acquisition of this or that alteration. The theory also avoids the error of making an improper use of the concept of accident; it does not look upon

the occurrence of a variation as an accident, but that the new organ occasionally happens to meet a need, i. e. to answer a purpose. It is of course inevitable that among all sorts of deviations some should prove to be more to the purpose than others; but this purposefulness was not fore-ordained or otherwise necessarily forced upon the purposive organ but occurred accidentally in the first place and only subsequently proved to be purposive. One who seeks to destroy the doctrine of descent by branding the argument in its behalf as a vicious circle is guilty of reasoning somewhat as follows: "Why are there only small stones on our gravel paths? Because they were passed through a sieve which permitted only the small stones to pass through. Why did only the small stones pass through? Because they are small. So then they are small only because they are small!" Oh, no! that they are small has its causes, no doubt; but their smallness, the appropriateness for our gravel paths was accidental; the sieve only preserved the principle not to let any but small stones through. In the theory of selection the sieve is the struggle for existence.

More important than objections based on verbal logic are those which take exception to "facts," as, for example, if one disputes the postulated action of the sieve. As a matter of fact, it is difficult to see how selection operates if certain peculiarities (of structure or function) whose purposiveness becomes established only subsequently, merely happen. Therein serious difficulties are presented as to which the Darwinian theory of descent is helpless.

Let us assume that this theory which has guided us so long may ultimately be disproved. Must teleologism necessarily fall with it? By no means! For the theory of descent would not fail because it made too much of purposiveness, but rather because it explained it too little. Apart from the dispute about Darwin, the fact of purposiveness (adaptation) is admitted and holds its own against all extremists, e. g., mechanists, Weismannians and Lamarckians, and supernaturalists.

Among the purposive (adaptive) qualities, i. e., those qualities which serve not merely for the preservation of life but also for propagation, we must seriously include not only what is visible but also what is invisible in the organism, namely, instincts or impulses. To postulate instincts which are not instincts to live, but the contrary, would be a biological *contradictio in adjecto*. I do not speak of this idea because I am in a jesting mood, but because I find it embodied in a serious study. The proponent of this idea is no other than Freud and it is to be found in the above-mentioned essay. He ventures upon an astonishing *salto* by setting up *impulses for death*; nay, more; he brands all the impulses of living organisms as impulses for death and makes only one exception—which ultimately turns out to be no exception.

He sets out from his well-known concepts of the pleasure-principle and the reality-principle. Psychoanalysis is founded "upon peculiarities of mankind's unconscious psychic processes." The profoundest tendency heeded by these "primary" processes is this: to get pleas-

ure and avoid pain. Conscious thinking, from which actions emanate, is characterized by a more highly developed principle, to-wit: a capacity to adapt itself to the demands of reality, to subordinate momentary pleasure to lasting utility. This reality principle does not eliminate the pleasure-principle but is, as it were, a dam for the libido current, the better to direct it and to obtain an assured pleasure rather than a swift one. And in another respect too it does not eliminate the pleasure-principle which continues to exist in the unconscious and often permits itself to invade our emotions and actions. It regularly betrays its presence in our dreams.

Even the first introduction of these "two principles of psychic action" (1911) elaborated a tempting thought contained in the "Interpretation of Dreams" (1900), namely, that the "primary" processes are the earlier ones in the course of evolution and operate according to a pleasure principle (which surely has something of the primitive about it). In this we already have indications of a dangerous deduction of a phylogenetic principle on no stronger basis than the observation of the individual psyche. This is particularly manifested with regard to one point. From the fact that in dreams, day-dreams and wish-fantasies, the gratification of the driving pleasure-factors, i. e., the "desires," is rapidly fulfilled in a hallucinatory way, Freud concluded that the primitive psychic apparatus, working in accordance with the pleasure-principle, has continually brought about the wished-for matters in a hallucinatory way, that, in other words, it

has begotten an hallucination to quench the desire. "Only disappointment, the failure of the anticipated satisfaction, caused this attempt at satisfaction to be given up. Instead the psychic apparatus was obliged to conclude to depict to itself the real state of affairs in the outer world and to attempt a real modification. And thus a new principle of psychic activity was introduced: the mind, no longer represents to itself what is agreeable but what is real, even though it might be unpleasant." (S. Freud, "Formulierungen über die zwei Prinzipien des psychischen Geschehens," *Jahrb. f. psa. Forschungen*, vol. 3, p. 2.) It occurred even to Freud that "an organism which cherishes the pleasure-principle and disregards the reality of the outer world, could not keep alive even for a very brief period, and therefore could never have come into being." But, for all that, he justified his fictitious creature (which, nevertheless, he must have thought of phylogenetically) by saying that "a suckling infant, its mother's care only being assumed, presents very nearly such a psychic system. It probably hallucinates the gratification of its inner wants, betrays its dissatisfaction at increasing tension and the failure of satisfaction by the motor discharge of crying and kicking, and thereupon it experiences the hallucinated gratification. Later on, having grown to childhood, it learns to use these motor discharges intentionally as a means of self-expression." (*Id.*, p. 2, footnote.)

We must clearly realize that this pleasure organization is possible to the child only because it is protected and indeed better protected than the young

of any other living thing. So far from ontogenesis warranting a conclusion as to early phylogenetic conditions, this circumstance reminds us rather that only the human infant is in a position to realize to such an extent the condition described,—as an end-product and not as a repetition of a primitive stage of development, even though this comes about by the use of primitive factors. It is, in fact, even possible that the sharp differentiation of the pleasure-principle from the reality-principle and the not infrequent fact of their being opposed to each other, as well as of their occurrence in different chronological periods, youth and maturity respectively, are only later developments. Perhaps—nay, probably—in the course of the phylogenetic development, youth has tended more and more to free itself from the reality-principle because the refinements of the conscious achievements of the reality-principle make it more and more necessary to acquire knowledge,—a demand which in the lower, more impulsive animals, approaches zero. We have here an arrangement which came about specifically for the young of the higher organisms, especially that of man.

Biologically speaking, what is there really to the pleasure-principle? My opinion is as follows: plainly pleasure and displeasure must have begun to exist at the moment when consciousness began to play a role in life. Otherwise consciousness would have been to no purpose; consciousness would simply not have taken any interest in the important tasks of life and would probably not have become permanently established. I shall come back to this important point

at the end of my essay; the reader will therefore please to bear it in mind. Thus, then, pleasure and displeasure had to be established before the useful and harmful—in order to induce incipient consciousness to concern itself with fruitful activities; and it would be as absurd to assume consciousness without the guidance of pleasure and displeasure as to assume pleasure and displeasure without consciousness. And for all that, in their simple forms these two are only the first incomplete aids to consciousness; here we are willing to accept Freud's reality-principle as a superstructure. In passing it may be noted that there is justification for speaking of unconscious pleasure, but only psychoanalytically speaking, and only where pleasure was forced out of consciousness but did not cease to exist potentially.

Let us proceed now to follow the course of Freud's new work. The author has "decided," without having any particular proof, to establish a relationship between pleasure and displeasure on the one hand, and the quantity of excitation existing unattached in the psyche, on the other; and somewhat after the following fashion: displeasure corresponding to an increase of this excitation and pleasure to a diminution. (*Jenseits*, p. 6.) In so doing he has not a word to say concerning Wundt's qualitative couplets, pleasure and displeasure, tension and relaxation, excitement and calm, nor concerning the biological and teleological functions of pleasure and displeasure which might have shown him the inadequacy of his theory of the qualitative relation.

After having for a long time main-

tained that dreams were exclusively dominated by the pleasure-principle in the form of wish-fulfilment, he begins to draw back and to find exceptions. Such exceptions he finds in the dreams of people who, suffering from traumatic neuroses, repeatedly dream of the terrifying experience (railway accidents, etc.), which gave rise to the neurosis. Exceptional too are certain dreams (and other bits of behavior) of neurotic persons undergoing psychoanalytic treatment, notably when they reproduce unpleasant rather than pleasant incidents from their youth. For, of course, the harmless therapeutic process of recalling the past is not, as a rule, capable of making the repressed matter completely conscious; much can be brought out only by the painful process of reproducing it as a fresh experience. "This reproduction which manifests itself with an unwelcome fidelity, also embodies a portion of the infantile sexual life, i. e., of the Oedipus complex and its derivatives and regularly takes place in the realm of transference, i. e., in the patient's relationship to the analyst. If the treatment has gone as far as this, one may say that the earlier neurosis has been replaced by a new transference-neurosis." It is true that the physician endeavors "with all his power to restrict this transference-neurosis, to force it into the memory as much as possible, and to permit of its repetition as little as possible." ("Jenseits," p. 16 ff.) This neurotic compulsion to repetition is, Freud says, essentially the same as that which in many people manifests itself in ever-recurring ideas of being persecuted.

From these manifestations of the un-

conscious and from certain corresponding features of children's games Freud deduces an *instinctive tendency to repetition*, a tendency to which greater priority must be conceded than to the pleasure-principle. From this he jumps to the assertion that *all instincts are instincts for repetition* and that all instincts strive to bring about a former situation.

But since, as we have seen above, the psychic organism, according to Freud, is always striving to keep its tension (which, it seems, Freud continually confuses with mechanical assaults and injuries) as low as possible, he sees the instincts as a desire for the recurrence of a state of perfect rest in which there is no tension, or, putting it more plainly, as instincts for death. He thinks he is corroborated in this idea by the fact that death is actually the goal of life. The state which the instincts, apparently serving to preserve life and the individual, are really striving to reproduce is the primal state of rest, the inorganic condition, which preceded the disturbing invasion of life.

"At some time or other, through the influence of a force which is still incomprehensible, life was awakened in lifeless matter. It may have been a process somewhat similar to the process which at a certain stage of life produced consciousness. The tension which came into being at that time in the former lifeless material tended to cancel itself out; thus appeared the first instinct, the instinct to return to lifelessness. At that time living substance could still die easily; for it had probably only a short period to live, its career being determined by the chemical composition of the new

type of being. For a long time living substance may, in this way, have been continually renewed and have died easily until adequate external influences, by their modifications, necessitated even greater deviations from the original life-pattern and even more complicated detours in the attainment of the death-goal. All our present manifestations of life show us these round-about roads to death, faithfully preserved by the conservative nature of the instincts. If one bears in mind the exclusively conservative nature of the instincts one cannot fail to arrive at this view of the origin and goal of life. These conclusions will sound as strange as those which we arrive at concerning the large group of instincts which we find behind the phenomena of living organisms. The conception of an instinct of self-preservation which we attribute to all living beings stands in notable contrast to our premise that the sum total of our instincts serves to bring about death. Seen in this light, the theoretical significance of the instincts of self-preservation, power and assertion, shrinks; they are partial impulses calculated to secure to the organism its own death and to exclude all possibility of a return to an inorganic state other than that which is inherent in it. But of that striving of the organism to maintain itself in the face of the whole world—a striving which we cannot coordinate with the rest of life—nothing remains. Nothing remains but the fact that the organism desires to die only in its own way." ("Jenseits," p. 36, et seq.).

Freud probably overlooks the fact that our instincts are after all a part of life

and that their evolution followed in the direction of the necessary adaptations for life. The instincts incorporated within themselves the whole stock of equipment in this direction, preserving every addition and being to this extent conservative. We may compare this to a man who begins with nothing and gradually accumulates riches, not for the purpose of wasting them but of saving them. Of such a one Freud would hardly wish to say that in the beginning he was really striving to possess nothing. Our analogy is not quite perfect inasmuch as we credit the man with a conscious purpose. Such a purpose may be wanting in nature; but we must apprehend the "meaning" of instincts, insofar as we attribute any meaning to them, in a manner implying at least an apparent purpose, that purpose with which we must credit nature as an intelligent essence. Or we may drop the fiction of a thinking essence and judge simply by results. But as far as we may judge the matter, the effect of the instincts is undoubtedly improved adaptation to life; to attribute death, the end of life, to the instincts would be pure arbitrariness; our observation of the instincts does not justify us in seeking in them the causes of death. Even if we make "inner causes" responsible for death, it by no means follows that these are instincts.

Freud finds himself in considerable difficulties over the sexual instincts, the life-instincts *par excellence*, which oppose the extinction of life, continue it, in spite of the death of the individual and even secure a kind of immortality for the germ-plasm. Freud feels obliged to recognize them as an exception to the

instincts for death, as instincts for life which probably from the very beginning strove against the death-instincts. But this dualism destroys his first thesis, viz.: that all instincts strive to bring about an earlier state. But he does this only because he insists that both kinds of instincts have existed from the very beginning of life; for it would involve him in a dilemma to be asked what it was that the sexual impulses, the life impulses, wished to bring about again. He might have spared himself this difficulty had he said at this point, as he does elsewhere, that sexuality is a late development; it might very well be looked upon as a repetition of the phenomenon of amphimixis which we know to be favorable to life. But, according to Weismann, death too was a somewhat late (metazoic) development, in which case even the original death-instincts lose their significance as a tendency back to the inorganic state. That being so, the whole of Freud's suggestive theory is in danger of collapsing; in the interest of his theory he is compelled to brand both sorts of impulses as something primal. To do this he resorts to a tour de force consisting of an arbitrary application to biology of the well-known psychoanalytic conception of manifest and latent tendencies. He makes the assertion that in the protozoa there might have been latent the instincts whose visible correlates occur only in more highly evolved organisms. (*Id.*, pp. 39, 46, 47, 54.)

Having arrived at the aforementioned critical point of dualism, Freud says: "We should feel relieved if our whole thought-structure turned out to be fal-

lacious. The antithesis between ego (i. e., death) impulses and sexual (i. e., life) impulses would disappear and with it also the significance attributed to the compulsion to repetition." (P. 41.) This remark introduces a neat rhetorical discussion in which Freud seems to attack his first contention that "for internal reasons all living things must die." (The reader must note the equivocal use of the word "internal" in the last sentence.) But, as might be expected, his thesis comes out of the wordy contest unharmed. At the close of his intermezzo (p. 47) Freud says: "Our anticipation that biological considerations would make it impossible to concede the existence of death-instincts has not been fulfilled; we may continue to occupy ourselves with the possibility. . . ." And yet the burden of proof, and withal of a sound biological proof, should fall on one who attempts to build on such an extraordinary assumption as the existence of death-instincts. It is but a feeble argument to say: "Even if the protozoa turn out to be immortal in Weismann's sense, his contention that death is a late development is true only of the external manifestations of death, and does not destroy any assumption concerning the processes which strive towards death." (p. 47.)

Freud's conclusion concerning Woodruff's experiments also seems to me to be wrong. Woodruff tried to demonstrate the asserted immortality of living matter by experiments on unicellular organisms. He took a protozoon (which reproduces itself by fission) and watched it to the 3029th generation, before he abandoned the experiment as successful.

His mode of procedure was as follows: at each splitting off he isolated one of the resulting organisms and placed it in fresh water. Freud makes the following objection to this: "It is nevertheless probable that the infusoria are led by their own life-processes to a natural death, for the contradiction between the results obtained by Woodruff and those of others is due to the fact that Woodruff placed each generation into a liquid containing fresh nourishment. Had he not done so he would have observed the same manifestations of age in each former generation that other investigators had noted. He concluded that the animalculi are harmed by the products of their own metabolism discharged (*NB*) into the surrounding liquid and was able to prove conclusively that only their own waste products can bring about the death of successive generations. For they thrive in a solution saturated with the waste products of a different but kindred specie, whereas if they accumulate in their own liquid they invariably perish." (p. 46.) Thus we see that the protozoa do all that is in their power to remain alive! If a man were to be shut into a diving bell in which the air is not renewed he would die of suffocation; but would it follow that he had an instinct for death?

For the moment Freud accepts a dualism of the instincts and connects it with the cell-life in the following manner: "We know that cells lend each other support, either by amphimixis or by the formation of colonies." This circumstance, seen in the light of the libido-theory, leads him to the notion "that it is the active life- or sex-instincts in each

cell which take for their object other cells, whose death-instincts (i. e., the processes initiated by these impulses) they partly neutralize and thus keep them alive, while other cells perform the same office for them, and yet others sacrifice themselves in the exercise of this libido-function. Thus the germ-cells would behave absolutely 'narcistically,' as we say in our neurology when a whole individual keeps its libido within itself and extends none upon an external object. The germ-cells need their libido, the exercise of their life-instincts, for themselves, in preparation for their future splendid creative activities. Thus, then, the libido of our sexual impulses would seem to coincide with the 'eros' of the poets and philosophers, which holds together all living things." (p. 48.)

Dwelling upon the libido-theory, Freud now reminds us that *psa.* has gradually come to look upon even the ego-instincts as libidinous—those, at any rate, which we know as self-preservation instincts—while a residuum of other ego-instincts, not yet investigated, may be said to co-exist. Therefrom ensues a correction of his former conception of the death-impulses. For if the self-preservation instincts belong to the libido-instincts, they participate in the life-preserving tendency of the eros; they are therefore life-instincts. In that case there would remain for the initially assumed death-instincts only one questionable little spot in the as yet unknown ego instincts. But Freud is evidently not content with this. On the contrary, he seeks for a means of uniting the death- and life-instincts and, for

sooth, within the limits of the now all-powerful libido-impulses. He therefor attributes to these instincts a polarity whose essence lies in the sadistic content of the sexual striving. He asks (p. 51) the rhetorical question: "How can we deduce the sadistic impulse, which seeks to injure its object, from the life-preserving eros?"—as if his libido-theory had been embarrassed by his assumption,—and he answers his question with an answer which he must have held in readiness for the emergency: "Is not the assumption fairly obvious that this sadism is really a death-instinct which, owing to the influence of the narcissistic libido, was disjoined from the ego so that it manifests itself only in connection with an external object?" I need hardly emphasize that such a train of thought is bound to be fraught with dangerous possibilities, especially when compared with the simple and obvious explanation of sadism as a derivative from the impulses for combat and power.

But thus far Freud has failed to connect up his newly-discovered compulsion-to-repetition with his now enlarged conception of the sexual impulse. What primary event, what primary coalescence of two things is the sexual impulse (assumed to exist from the beginning of life) trying to repeat? And how can it be reconciled with the idea of a return to the inorganic (the idea of the death-instinct)? The author having lost himself in this impenetrable thicket finds no earthly way out. He summons Aristophanes to his assistance and finds in his contribution to Plato's "Banquet" the suggestive myth of the two halves into which mankind was originally divided,

"similarly to the way in which pears are cut in two for stewing" and which then seek each other lovingly. This yearning for re-union causes them to embrace and to grow together into one object. How does this simile benefit Freud's theory? He writes (p. 55): "Shall we, following the hint of the poet-philosopher, venture to assume that living substance, on attaining life, was torn into tiny particles which have since then been striving for re-union with the aid of the sexual instincts? That these instincts, continuing the chemical affinities of lifeless matter, gradually overcome the difficulties pervading the realm of the protozoa in whom a dangerous environment forced the cells to form a protecting outer layer, thus frustrating the striving for coalescence? And that these scattered fragments of living substance then succeeded in forming multi-cellular organisms and ultimately transmitted the impulse for re-union in its most concentrated form to the germ-cells."

I am quoting Freud's own words when I say: "I think I ought to break off at this point." For an author who, in the much-questioned discoveries of *psa.*, has always insisted on the experimental nature of his teachings, this thesis has already gone surprisingly far into the airy realm of fantasy. I do not deny that even in this realm, which calls for a special quality of thinking and writing, much that is valuable may be produced. When I recall Fechner's charming capricious I could even wish to hear his masterhand improvising upon this theme of Freud's. Not that I mean to imply that Freud is not himself a master; but it is on the firm ground of empirical

knowledge that he rules, sometimes despotically. His admirable powers lie within the bounds of psychoanalysis, not beyond it. Even only through consideration of the teleologic principle, which I have emphasized the more that Freud has neglected it, should have made him, to say the least, more cautious.

I am quite at a loss at his utter misunderstanding of Kant's dictum that time and space are necessary modes of human thinking,—a sentence which, Freud says, "may be submitted to discussion in the light of certain psychoanalytic discoveries." This sentence (p. 26) occurs in an unimportant place in his argument.

The whole of Freud's thought-structure (after all only a house of cards?), the pinnacle of which ominously terminates in a death-instinct, is really built on the narrow foundation of a single peculiarity to be observed in the treatment of neurotics at the stage of transference. All the other phenomena adduced as evidence can be explained differently without especial difficulty. The dreams in question may very well point to gaps in the wish-fulfilment theory. And Freud himself explains those childhood games which repeat in play-form certain events, originally unpleasant, as being due to instincts of domination, revenge, and similar instincts which impart a pleasurable coloring to material originally unpleasant. Is there any occasion here for such a dizzy flight? Certainly not; and a sober discussion of the phenomena concerned would probably have proved of greater value to science, tho less diverting. However, it was probably not a desire for knowledge which

instigated this scintillating work but rather a delight in an interesting, nay, fascinating, play of thought. I have not shown up all the author's inexactitudes, cabrioles and sinuosities; there is no need to do so; perhaps they even have a charm of their own.

The important role attributed to the surprising conception of death-instincts may finally lead us to ask whether such instincts really exist. They certainly do. Even if we disregard the fact of suicide, a yearning for death is often enough manifested in life and in art. But these impulses cannot be called instincts, nor can they be considered as something of a primary nature. This is the moment when the reader should turn to the point in my argument which I begged him to keep in mind. Consciousness, which was originally guided roughly by pleasure and displeasure as indices of usefulness, gradually learned to comprehend these relations clearly. It fulfilled its purpose as no other quality of living substance had done before; but the light thus kindled grew beyond its biological purpose, became independently dominant and succeeded in setting itself up over the biological purpose. Here, at the extreme summit of development, we find the basis for the super-biological, including the death impulses, which sometimes appear deceptively like instincts in their behavior. They are late blossoms on an old stem,—reversal phenomena running counter to the natural impulses. They are manifestations of consciousness which have become independent and foreign to the biological goals.

(Translated by V. G.)

Psychoanalysis and the Practice of Medicine*

By Johs. Stromme, M. D., Kristiania

INTRODUCTION:

Ladies and Gentlemen: I have long had the wish to introduce you to a branch of psychotherapy which I have the honor to represent. I mean psychoanalysis. From various motives I have refrained from doing this heretofore. It requires a certain courage to speak of the soul and of psychic values before such an assembly as this,—this courage I do not lack. But I could not expect my words to have much weight with you unless there was at my disposal material which was accessible to the majority of Kristiania's physicians. Now, as you know, I have an abundance of such material, but it is none the less not an easy matter to bring the material before you in a form comprehensible to all. This is due partly to the peculiar nature of the subject, which deals almost exclusively with subjective psychological factors, and partly because I would have to take up too much of your time even though I limit myself to a condensed summary of the subject or even only to its most important tenets. But notwithstanding this, I would not accomplish my object: to change the views you have hitherto entertained concerning certain diseases. I must wholly renounce any expectation of making you understand the inmost essence and the *modus operandi* of analysis. To do that I should have to have many hours and would have to assume, what I have no right to assume, a thorough knowledge of the various forms of psychotherapy.

With us in Norway, psychotherapy is, alas,, a stepchild in medical science. Nobody teaches it, nobody knows much about it. And as far as I can observe most physicians share the opinion of the writer in—*mirabile dictu!*—the *Tidskrift for den norske logeforening* (No. 1, 1919), who says: "*To be a psychotherapist one needs no special training, only one's own sound commonsense.*" I may say then that, in the light of my experience, one must be endowed with a certain quantity of stupidity to appear before this association with a survey of the influence of the psychic life upon the bodily functions. Enfin! I am so endowed. Just that is, the theme I wish to treat of tonight in discussing the causes of chronic nervousness.

*Lecture delivered before the Medical Association of Kristiania, Norway March 26, 1919.

HISTORICAL:

First let me say a few words about psychotherapy. It is quite true that all physicians practice psychotherapy—the influence of their personality upon the invalid—more or less successfully. But that's a kind of quack-psychotherapy having no surer foundation than the suggestibility characteristic of all persons. Psychotherapy is surely a different matter. And this requires, in addition to certain personal qualifications, very careful study.

The psychotherapy of the past was a mode of treatment by suggestion, partly hypnotism and partly waking suggestion à la Dubois's method of persuasion, the appeal to logic. These things are echoes of Mesmer's theory (1770) of animal magnetism and of Kant's theory of the will. The only one of these various kinds of suggestion therapy that has accomplished anything worth while is hypnotism. In certain maladies, e. g. enuresis, and where immediate relief is wanted, hypnotism is still the sovereign remedy. The world-war has served a useful purpose as regards hypnosis. There is a great demand for hypno-therapists. Nonne, for example (quoted by Dr. von Geijerstam: "Some comments on the Psa. of the Zürich School."), values hypnosis so highly that experienced psychotherapists will have to hold back. Most analysts have given up hypnosis only because it has not the therapeutic value of analysis. And if today hypnotism holds the first place in the treatment of neurotics, we analysts know that our day will come.

Psychoanalysis dates back to 1893 when Drs. S. Freud and J. Breuer, of Vienna published a volume entitled *Studien über Hysterie* [Studies on Hysteria]. But the soil had been well prepared for this by several physicians working many years before them. As far back as 1700, Dr. G. E. Stahl (Cf. Hauser's *Lehrbuch d. Gesch. d. Medizin*, 2d part, 3d ed., p. 519) had said that the "anima" influences the body. Most bodily diseases, he said, could be attributed to disease of the anima and for the most part could be cured by altering the psychic regime. The animists of that day, among them Swedenborg, fought vigorously for the preeminence of the anima above matter. But, as we know, he sought to force nature into a rigid theological system, and this landed him in a compulsion neurosis. Notwithstanding this, it may be correctly said that the conflict with materialism really began with him. And no little influence must be attributed to Feuchtersleben who, at the age of 30, developed Kant's imperative in an ethical direction in his book on 'the dietics of the soul.' And Weydstrand too laid great stress on character changes accompanying his hypnosis technique. Only with the introduction of analysis has it become possible to free the patient from the physician and to develop the patient's ethical possibilities which had suffered a fixation. This is not the time to enumerate the historical details, and I shall only remind you that the initial uncertain tentative analytical attempts have established themselves and have supplied us with an uncommonly effective weap-

on for the treatment of the greatest evil of our time: nervousness. And it gives me great pleasure to be able to refer to Professor James J. Putnam's evaluation of psychoanalysis, given in a lecture at Boston in 1913, in which he said: "Psychoanalysis is the most important advance in modern medicine." For it has brought about not only a revolution in medical thought but also in the treatment of various diseases. And to this I shall add that this change will influence not only our public life, but will prove of the utmost significance in matters of political economy. For analysis will completely alter our views concerning the psychic life and yield us a profound and true knowledge of its workings.

And now I shall begin to speak of my real theme: *Psa.* and its application in the practice of medicine.

INDICATIONS:

The more *psa.* has been practiced the more it has appeared that *the* indication for analysis—hysteria—would have to be extended, or, more correctly speaking, under the heading of hysteria we shall have to include a number of maladies which were formerly considered organic diseases and which were treated by internal medication or surgically; in other words, our conception of nervousness has to be revised. (I must remark, however, that psychotherapy has long ago begun this revision. And gynecologists, for example, have warned us as far back as the nineties that certain local conditions in a series of anomalies were of nervous origin. In other domains we have, for example, Brügelmann's special work on asthma, etc. What then belong to a concept of nervousness? For practical reasons I am in agreement with other psychotherapists who divide chronic nervousness into two large main groups: 1. *Hysteria* and 2. *Neurosis*. Pure cases are rare and mixed forms the rule. Most psychotherapists therefore include both classes under the one name "Apprehension Hysteria." Although the division into two classes is artificial, there are many practical and theoretical considerations for maintaining it.

Hysteria often runs its course without any general disturbance in the internal secretions, whereas special isolated want of them is frequent. These often beget the impression of a serious malady. I define hysteria as a disease of the soul in which the patient's unpleasant pathogenic ideas are manifested in the shape of bodily symptoms (so-called *conversion hysteria*) or in psychic symptoms (*Apprehension Hysteria*, *Compulsion Hysteria*). Many diseases fall into this group, e. g. bronchial asthma, neuralgia (sciatica, migraine, etc.), angina pectoris and other diseases of the heart, epilepsy (most epilepsies are hysterio-epilepsies), paralyzes and pareses, stomach and intestinal diseases (e. g., ulcer of the stomach, enteritis), diabetes, Basedow's disease (where the resistance makes use of the endocrine glands), various skin diseases (chronic eczema, hyperidrosis, various lichens, psoriasis, scleroderma), gout, anemia and chlorosis,

etc., etc. The typical apprehension states, e. g., the phobias, belong here and are usually those which are most curable, inasmuch as cause and effect are clear and distinct. A series of compulsions belong to the hysterias.

The other group, the neuroses, are as a rule intimately linked with the disease of the endocrine apparatus. The patients are said to look as if they were in "blooming health." Janet's *psychasthenia* belongs here. (But I hope that all physicians will rebel against the term "nervous weakness" and never use it. For nervousness is not a disease of the nerves and these are in no sense weakened.) The neuroses are all somewhat difficult to diagnose, and often very difficult to cure because the will for health is slight. To show you how artificial the boundary line between hysteria and neurosis is, I shall tell you that most compulsions must be reckoned among the neuroses where they constitute the transition to paranoid hysteria. Notwithstanding this there are many compulsion hysterics who cannot even with might and main be included among the neuroses. I include in the neuroses the alcoholic because in them the hysterical symptoms recede into the background, but most analysts include them among the hysterics and I must admit that this is often correct.

Common to both groups is the dominating symptom of apprehension,—a symptom which is intimately bound up with the function of the endocrine glands. *Some variety of apprehension is present in every nervous person.* "Nervousness" is "Apprehension."

The neuroses, excepting compulsions, are not adapted to treatment by analysis. This would take a long time and would make too many demands on the patients who so often are characterless and weak-willed. Even hypnosis is of little value here. Dr. Geijerstamm expresses a golden truth when he says: "The prognosis depends more on the patient's character than on the nature of the symptoms." The true domain of analysis are the hysterics, and not one of these is so difficult or so old but that it can be influenced. Every psychotherapist has his special preferences,—mine is asthma, epilepsy and the phobias.

I shall not describe to you the various symptoms of nervousness. I shall, however, dwell on the psychogenesis, the psychic origin, of nervous symptoms. I shall therefore begin with the causes of nervousness.

CAUSES OF NERVOUSNESS:

The causes are two: 1. The general causes for all these diseases and 2. the special cause in the individual case which determines why one symptom appears in one case and another symptom in another, i. e., the individual formula.

THE GENERAL CAUSES:

As you know, great demands are made on us every day. Every second of our waking life we have to be interested in the outer world with which we are in constant rapport through the medium of our senses. We must hold all our

psychic energy (Libido) ready to be able to concentrate our interest wholly on our work. In other words, a concentration of our attention is demanded: pleasure in work. But we do not stop to think about it; we give our interest to whatever presents itself at any given moment and are ready at the next moment to turn our attention upon any new object that engages our interest. We do not stop to think whether the work on the object involved is pleasant or unpleasant, agreeable or disagreeable,—we just do our duty: to apply our interest. A healthy person knows no other formula than this: difficulties are here to be overcome. . . . and in most cases the difficulty ceases to be difficult under such reasoning. We approach our tasks with pleasure and love. A nervous person, on the contrary, has a different reaction formula. In the first place, he can never apply all his attention to his object; a smaller or greater share of his interest, his energy, clings to older, former objects, is linked to egotistic formulas, is subjectively bound, so that he has only a fragment of interest left for the immediate object. While, for example, he is speaking to someone about a concert he is also thinking whether the scaffolding on that house, which has attracted his attention, will fall,—and thus his attention is divided and he is confused. Gradually there develops in him a requirement, a habit, to think of one thing and look upon another. After a while he begins to think about the nature of his work in relationship to himself, a subjective criticism of the object, whether the work is easy or difficult, whether it is pleasurable or displeasurable, etc. He also thinks about his ability to perform the work. The result is that there comes about in the nervous person a desire to shun objects that are displeasurable and, as much as possible, to escape from such tasks. *The general cause for all nervous maladies is this escape from work: laziness, dislike for work, indolence, flight from work.* But nota bene, the nervous person has no clear understanding of this. It has developed so gradually and so unnoticeably that he has gradually forgotten how he behaved when he was well. And finally he involves himself in a labyrinth of falsehoods and does not suspect that his attitude to his tasks is different from what it formerly was. He thinks, on the contrary, that his sickness begets his inability to work rather than that his dislike for work begot the disease. This too is the great life-lie to which the neurotic person lends a willing ear, the more because it helps him to evade his duties. He meets the demands upon him as follows: he withdraws from these demands and says to himself: this I cannot do, this doesn't concern me; if I do this it will do me harm; others can do this for me; this is so tedious; there's no hurry about this, to-morrow it will be easier; I'll postpone this; I don't like this. He can spend a great deal of his time in thinking about what he will do in the future; he likes to complain to others about all he has to do and usually he forgets his hated tasks or manages so that it is too late to begin to-day. To-morrow things will be so much better. (Cf. Peter Egge: *Der Narr.*) And over and over again one hears him say, "I shall certainly begin next Monday,"—we all know that the

road to hell is paved with these good intentions. He wastes the day in roaming about aimlessly and dreamily, without doing any work, and pays no attention to anything that he may be doing. Only a very small portion of his energy is devoted to realities, the larger portion being expended in useless dreams about the past and the future—and all this merely as a means of evading the concentration of his energies upon the present. In other words a nervous person withdraws his interest from what is required of him instead of expending it upon the general welfare of the community as well as of himself. Dislike for work is the general cause for nervousness,—or, to put it more clearly; the general cause for nervousness is the little syllable "Oh!" This word is responsible for the neurotic's lack of self-confidence.

THE REACTION TO LAZINESS:

Of course a person who behaves like this is not satisfied with himself. And now we come to an ethical question of great importance and seriousness. For nervousness is, if I may say so, *a disease of conscience*. A nervous person punishes himself for everything that he does, thinks or neglects, if it goes against his conscience. (The aphorism: "Thoughts are duty-free" is, like so many aphorisms, false). He has a wonderfully delicate psychic scale which works uninterruptedly and estimates everything with extreme accuracy. And as soon as laziness or dislike for work manifests itself, the scale instantly oscillates violently. Let us illustrate this: an individual is required to do something that he abhors or that he regards as a tedious duty. He wonders how he could most easily and satisfactorily get out of it and finds that it is too late to begin it that day; so he postpones it for to-morrow. And though this excuse may be a slight fabrication he will take full advantage of it and spin it out. He is not in the right mood or he has a slight headache which keeps getting worse,—it is absolutely impossible for him to do that to-day; he must lie down and take some medicine (aspirin). No one can accuse him of laziness if he has a headache. This is a typical example and at the same time an instructive one as regards the question of cause and effect. In these cases all mankind has been blind with respect to the causation. People say: "poor man, he can't help his indolence,—he is so sick! It would be a crime to call him lazy; he is unfit for work."—"My dear man, you must take a vacation and give your over-taxed nerves a rest!"—It is assumed that nervousness is a somatic disease and not a psychic malady. The life-lie has become a life-truth. And what then is the truth? This: that *rest is to be found only in work*. The moment that the afflicted one again takes up his tasks and does his work with pleasure the headache disappears. If his laziness ceases, there is no further cause for punishing himself. It is his reluctance to work that makes him sick and not the sickness that makes him more or less incapable of working.

Another example: Dr. Groddeck tells us (*Psychische Bedingtheit u. psychoanalytische Behandlung organischer Leiden*, Leipzig, 1917.) that while he was treating a patient he did not like he himself developed a nervous symptom. "Invariably when I was going to this patient I would get a pain in my left foot but it would disappear at once if I made it clear to myself why I got the pain,—it was an admonition not to show my antipathy."

I think it a good plan to illustrate the typical reactions with additional examples. You know the schoolboy who forgets to do his composition when he wants to play; the housewife who quarrels with her husband when she has too much to do or when she has spent too much of her allowance; the servant-girl who begins to smash the crockery when she is dissatisfied with the household. You also know those who suffer from pains in the arms or a finger when it is time to fetch some coal from the cellar, and those who are late at a rendezvous when they have ceased to love. You also know those who lose or mislay objects when they are angry about something or other, and those who forget what they owe but not what is due them. You all know those on whom no one can rely. And so too the girl who cannot sew a stitch all day because she does not feel well, but who can go to an affair at night and dance till 5 A. M. If you are so inclined you can supplement this with instances of accidents which happen because of some obscure purpose. For everything happens in accordance with the principle: shun work, shun concentration. One of the most commonly employed means of getting out of some work or thought process is to develop a headache. This is also true with reference to a feeling of weariness or sleepiness. I thoroughly approve of Dr. Groddeck's, that practical physician's injunction to doctors, to lay great stress on the question: Why, for what purpose, did this or that symptom develop? (I disregard Dr. Groddeck's illogical conception of the unconscious.) Among other things he discusses the much disputed question of the diminishing birthrate. He says: "The problem of the diminishing birthrate does not in reality call for the complicated investigations of its causes inasmuch as we see daily the pregnant woman is compelled to be ashamed of her condition, that she hides it, that her fellow-beings (especially children) are whispering about her and that her neighbor says something about the breeding of rabbits. The *Unc.* comes to the assistance of the tortured woman against stupid hypocrisy. It presents her with dizziness, fainting spells, pains around the heart, bodily disfigurement, a bad odor, leucorrhoea, inflammation of the tubes and of the uterus, menstrual irregularities and, finally, cancer. Thus, it keeps all temptation away and frightens away anything that might arouse desire."

AMBIVALENCE:

In this way the nervous person lives a kind of double life; on the one hand he manifests a strongly ethical personality and, on the other hand, laziness. In our examples we became superficially acquainted with both of these. And now I

wish to discuss the *mechanisms* that are at the patient's disposal.

The ethical personality makes use of two tendencies. The first of these is a *punitive tendency*. In the example cited by us the headache is the punishment for the dislike for work.

The second is the *compulsive tendency*: you shall suffer from headache as long as you fail to do your work with pleasure!

Dr Groddeck confuses the Conscious and the Unconscious. It is conscious resistance that steers the unconscious desire into illness.

These two tendencies represent what is of ethical value in the neurotic's character. And it is this aspect of his character that is of the greatest service to us inasmuch as it is capable of giving the neurotic a feeling of discontent regarding his conduct and mode of life and to awaken in him a greater or lesser desire to get well. It is this aspect that shows us clearly that in the neurotic *the symptom represents the patient's attempt to cure himself*, to take interest in things, but that, alas, a compromise between these two personalities has come about. The so-called pathologic manifestations (symptoms) therefore represent the neurotic's mode of attempting to get well (e. g., a sadistic man becoming impotent as a protection against committing a crime).

This lazy dual personality is attended by three tendencies: 1. The first is what we have already discussed as *the tendency to find excuses*, the neurotic's need for subterfuges. This we call *rationalization*.—2. The second is a *motive to dominate* and (3) the third a *substitution tendency*. The latter two require elaboration.

DOMINATION MOTIVE:

The most striking and the most easily observable is the domination motive in the hysterical woman who, for example, faints when she wants to get a new hat. This is one of the worn-out motives in romances. In most psychoneurotic maladies the formula is: My will, not yours. An excellent example of this is furnished by Dr. Herz's patient (cited by Feuchtersleben, *Die Diätetik der Seele*). He was treating a patient who was steadily running a high temperature without any apparent cause. Nothing that the doctor did seemed to be of any use; the fever continued to rage and, in spite of the doctor's utmost efforts, the patient kept getting weaker. At last Dr. H., who seemed to know his patient pretty well, told him that he could do nothing more for him and that he feared that the end was approaching. For the first time that evening the patient was calm; by next morning the temperature had gone down considerably, and a few days later the patient was sufficiently well to call at the doctor's office and tell him that he had erred in his death sentence. That was how the patient triumphed over the physician. In all probability that was a case of hysterical fever such as may be observed now and then. I have seen several examples of this romance-motive. I treated a man who made his work at school easier by having

headaches and occasional spells of vomiting; another who earned money by virtue of his epileptic attacks, and another who was excused from doing his lessons because he suffered from sleeplessness, etc. Hysteria calculated to increase one's "damages" in a lawsuit also belongs here. The domination motive can be found in all neurotics.

SUBSTITUTION TENDENCY:

The above trait of character, so little calculated to beget our sympathies, is partially atoned for by a third weapon in the neurotic's armamentarium: his substitution tactics. This is so interesting that it is deserving of more careful consideration. It is based on the following principle: do as much work as possible with as little expenditure of energy as possible,—which would obviously be the correct principle if "the greatest subjective comfort were associated with the highest biological achievement" (Jung), something that we all require of ourselves. But it is typical of all these substitutions that from the biological viewpoint they are of less value than what they are intended to replace. A typical example of this is found in the aged virgin who lavishes her affection on a poodle or on a cat. Every symptom is a substitute for pleasure in work. In the alcoholic the substitute is his thirst. I once treated a homoerotic patient who was heterosexual only under the influence of alcohol. In other words, he had to overcome certain inhibitions before he could interest himself in women (—work). Experience had taught him that his inhibitions were most easily drowned by a dose of alcohol. And in this manner his marriage was quite a success until the lie was discovered.

A patient who had been forbidden sexual intercourse because he had been suffering from insomnia had this symptom as a substitution for pleasure in work. Surely no one could suspect him of being lazy since he had discovered that his insomnia absolved him from all his duties and that even his physician certified to this. There is no limit to the number of injunctions and prohibitions which are at the neurotic's disposal. Now it is a matter of cutting off coffee or tea, now of alcoholic drinks, or tobacco or fat foods, or salty foods, or acid foods, or meat, etc., etc. The stupidest of all prohibitions is the injunction not to work. As a matter of fact, the patient ought to be given complete freedom in every respect and be made solely responsible for himself. This dependence upon matters outside of himself is an essential characteristic of the neurotic who is only too glad to shift the responsibility from himself instead of seizing it with all his might. It is no wonder that Luther said that the worst thing to do was to so restrict the sphere of what is permitted that humanity found its feet hemmed in between injunctions and conditions.

[To Be Continued.]

(Translated by S. A. Tannenbaum)

The Phallus on the Early English Stage

By W. J. Lawrence, Dublin

Now that the world is at last probing seriously into its troubles, it might profitably consider how far-reaching in its implications is the Freudian metaphysic. In demonstrating how the sexual instinct dominates over life, permeating it and colouring most of its manifestations, and how unwise repression of its cravings has given rise to those diseases of the mind and body which are distinctly modern, Psychoanalysis has laid bare the roots of that noxious sense-bewildering weed which we choose to call civilization. Nay, it even indicts the morbid introspection of a long-corrupted Christianity, revealing with its deep-cutting scalpel the fatal flaw in its foisted doctrines. Elemental Christianity teaches that man was made in God's own image, yet the Christian has cast reflections on the perfectness of his God by thrusting upon him analogically parts of shame. Of a surety, if the Kingdom of God is within us, to discriminate between the constituents of the human body, saying this is holy and that unholy, is to defile and desecrate the Temple. Hence, by attitude of mind alone the prude is a blasphemer.

Happily, however, nature cannot be long expelled; the swing is ever back to health. Intermittently there are beneficent resurgences of paganism. To many, I know, this will be a question-begging claim—but what are the facts? When we contrast the ancient with the modern world the confession is wrung from us that we have lost the art of living, that progress is a myth, and that civilization for over a score of centuries has been bumping along helplessly on the wrong track. By what conjecture of circumstances can we ever be switched back again onto the right line? Must we perish in our pride, or shall we grow sane enough and humble enough to take a lesson from the wise old Athenians? Let us recall what they achieved and how they achieved it. With them the natural man had free play. The claims of the flesh were equally hearkened unto with the claims of the spirit. Fundamentally, this is what the physical constitution demands: without its obeyal there is no certainty of mental equipoise. In the Greek mind the human body had no parts of shame. Healthy instincts which we strive to suppress, only to their unhealthy eruption—for the stream dammed in one place must eventually burst through in another—the old Athenians glorified and gratified. The creative quality is the godlike qual-

ity, and out of this elemental frankness and honesty of outlook there arose great things, greater, indeed, than the world has since seen. Sculpture, in glorifying and affording a standard for the physically perfect man, reached in Athenian hands its apogee. To phallic worship we owe the arts of the drama. Never again, perhaps, will art be to an entire people what it was to the Greeks, a natural emanation from and an intensifier of life, with life one and indivisible.

Nothing is more remarkable than the extraordinary vitality of phallic worship. Common at one time to all pagan races, it survived the downfall of ancient civilization, marched with steady feet through the Dark Ages, and on coming once more into the light faced with joyous eyes and careless laughter the deadly hostility of the new cult. It will hardly be believed, but the old phallic procession with all its ecstatic rites in honour of Dionysios, the god of generation and fructifier of the earth, persisted in the heart of Christian Italy until near the close of the eighteenth century. When the ancient city of the kingdom of Naples, Isernia, was destroyed by an earthquake in 1805, the pious looked upon the calamity as retribution for the pagan convention so long scrupulously maintained there at the annual period of the Bacchic festival.

It was solely to this persistent clinging of the folk to nature-worship that was due a mild, unmeaning employment of the phallus in the early sacred drama, that form of drama wholly unclassical which was acted by the folk for the folk. I shall strive to show shortly how this necessarily restricted employment of the phallus began, (it was impossible, of course, that the old symbol which had lost its symbolism, could be as prominently featured on the Christian stage as it was in the Old Comedy of the Greeks); but meantime I say that its recurrence at the very dawn of the modern folk-drama can be determined by irrefragable *a posteriori* reasoning. Since sexual squeamishness was a distinctly Christian note and increased with the ages, it follows that the longer the introduction of the phallus on the modern stage was delayed the greater would grow the difficulties in the way of its introduction. Consequently we find traces of its use at a comparatively late period, we are justified in concluding that nothing but long habituation would have reconciled the public to the practice. More countries than one yielded us these traces. We know that troupes of phallic demons formed a standing characteristic of the old German carnival comedy. And we also know, (Callot's series of character-etchings entitled "I Balli di Sfessanio" bearing witness) that divers of the grotesque types of the *Commedia dell' arte* in the second decade of the seventeenth century were phallus-wearers.

Stress must be laid on the fact that this argument has wide application. It has not hitherto been suspected that the phallus was ever worn on the English stage, yet positive evidence exists to show that it was known the stage of Shakespeare's day. In 1620, there was published in London by

Edward Wright, "A Courtly Masque: The Device called The World lost at Tennis. As it hath been divers times presented to the contentment of many Nobel and Worthy Spectators by the Prince his Servants. Invented and set downe by Tho. Middleton and William Rowley, Gent." As our illustration shows, the title-page of this presents a rough engraving of the various characters in the masque, doubtless from a sketch made at the actual performance. Outside the main group stands "the Divell," who made his appearance towards the end to take part in the last dance. He is flaunting a hooked phallus.

As a masque, "The World tost at Tennis" was of a somewhat uncommon order. Masques in those days were almost invariably designed for private performance at court or at the mansion of some nobleman. They were given all of a breath, so to speak. Now, "The World Tost at Tennis," in the form in which it has come down to us—possibly not its original form, for it was designed for performance at court—is divided into acts, and bears indications in its prologue, (itself an uncommon feature in a masque) that it had been performed in a public theatre. The inference is that the phallus was a familiar characteristic of the old stage devil.

It is an interesting speculation how this association of the old Dionysiac emblem with the enemy of Christian man began. Paganism at the outset was the real foe, and it may be that the devil was in this way made to symbolize Paganism. The idea would be to deride phallic worship. Personally, however, I am inclined to think that the transference, so far from being the outcome of subtle reasoning, was insensible, a mere matter of natural transition. Remark the characteristics of the old stage devil as depicted in the reproduced title-page. Ignore for the moment that he is black from head to hoof with skeleton-like articulations on the arms and tail, and concentrate your mind on the goat's horns, the asses' ears, the cloven hoofs, the phallus. (These same horns are to be noted on the more goat-like—because bearded—head of the Devil in "Doctor Faustus," as depicted on the title-page of the Marlowean quarto). Whence came all these characteristics? Only one possible source presents itself, and that not English. The chief participants in the old phallic procession were of two kinds, though both nature-spirits, the Satyros and the Silenoi. All wore the phallus. The Satyros were half-men, half-goats and the Silenoi were horse-spirits, manifesting as human beings with horses' ears and tails. Recall in Christian Italy the obstinate persistence of the phallic procession. Is it not rational to suppose that when the Italians first came to represent the devil in their sacred drama they made him very much in the likeness of the grotesque—one had almost written "goatesque"—devotees of Baachus?

Be that as it may, there is little room for doubt that the phallic demon was of continental origin, and it only remains to determine how he made his

doubtedly valuable, not only because it interlinks the English secular drama with its sacred predecessor—an association which has long been vigorously denied—but also because it interlinks the Miracle play with the primitive European drama generally. These are comforting conclusions. The glory of English renaissance drama, what distinguishes it from all other drama evoked by the flowering of the New Thought and gave it its supremacy—for elsewhere the results were mere academic aridity—was that it had its roots in the Folk. The renaissance gave aliment to the Elizabethan drama but its lifeblood was mediaevalism. It was an invigorating wind that blew where it listed. Free from the tyranny of Aristotle, it was yet dimly associated through the odd naturalization of the phallic demon with the classic drama of the ancients. In his presence Shakespeare reached out across the ages and shook hands with Aristophanes.*

*In a letter dated January 15, 1921, Mr. Lawrence writes me: "I have recently discovered further evidence of the use of the phallus on the English stage (in 1613). It was worn by the [character dressed up as the] monkey (*Bavian*) in the May-dance scene in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* [Act III, Sc. 5] —S. A. T.

Sex and Fertility Worship

By R.

Great emphasis has recently been laid upon sex as a determining factor in the evolution of man. The anthropologists are as emphatic in stressing sex as an important motive in racial development as the psychologists are in stressing sex as a motive in individual development. A few recent writers even go as far as looking for the origin of religion in sexual emotion. Clifford Howard calls sex "the foundation of religious faith and worship," and Dr. O. A. Wall maintains that "sex was the underlying principle in all ancient philosophies," and that "nearly all progress, physical, intellectual, and ethical during evolution, was largely due, directly, or indirectly, to sex and sex emotions." Now, while the relation of the instinct of sex to the religious feeling or sentiment may be somewhat exaggerated by these writers, there can be no doubt that sex-worship existed at one time or another among all primitive races. Nor can there be any question that in its origin this worship symbolized serious religious conceptions, although it later developed into the grossest forms of sexual excesses and perversions.

Sex-worship reaches back to the remotest ages. While it never existed as a religion apart from all other religions, it was a phase in the evolution of all religions in India as well as in China and Japan, in Gaul as well as in Greece. The ancient Hebrews were not free from it, either.

In its origin sex-worship formed a part of nature-worship. Sex-worship is the worship of Nature in the great mystery of life. Primitive man saw an organic connection between the reproduction of the human species and the reproduction of animals and plants. In his worship he identified the forces which make for the fertility of the womb with the forces which make for the fertility of the fields. "The two great interests of primitive man are food and children," and he naturally combined in worship those powers in Nature which supplied his nutritive and procreative needs. The figures of the sexual organs served as symbols of the procreative powers of Nature.

It is evident from Hindu mythology that the origin of sex-worship was in the form of the adoration of man's sexual organ (Sanskrit *linga(m)* and Greek *phallos*). It seems that among primitive peoples a far greater importance was attached to the male than to the female element in creation. The active force was considered of greater significance than the passive though fruitful force in the generation of life. The phallus served as an emblem of the fertility god

among all the early races of the earth. It was the sacred symbol of Siva in India, of Khem and Osiris in Egypt, of Vul (Rimmon) and Baal (or Baal-peor) in Assyria and Phoenicia, of Pan, Hermes and Dionysus in Greece, of Mutinus, Liber-Bacchus and Piratus in Italy, of Hortanes in Spain, and of Frizzo (Freyr) in Scandinavia and Germany.

The phallus was carried in solemn procession as a fertility charm at the folk-festivals of all peoples in the West as well as in the East. Herodotus and Diodorus expressly assert that at the Dionysia and Bacchic mysteria the phallus figured prominently. Neither was this symbol missing in the Eleusinian and Samothracian mysteries. This emblem of fertility is still conspicuous in the modern Thracian Carnival play, which is a direct survival of the ancient dionysiac spring festival. The phallus was also carried at the Liberalia of Rome. It was used with ritual significance in the northern countries of Europe as well. The Germanic races had phallic demons of vegetation. The temples, tombs and graves of our European ancestors were marked with the phallic symbol. They did not part with it even after their conversion to Christianity. On the contrary, they carried this emblem into the Christian churches. Phalli were found in the old churches of Ireland, and at Toulouse and Bordeaux in France.

The phallus was used by women as a charm against barrenness. The women of Israel manufactured phalli of gold and silver. According to Herodotus, the women of Egypt carried about at their village festivals puppets a cubit in height, fitted with a phallus of nearly the same length, worked by means of strings. Phallic medals were worn by Greek and Roman matrons. The women at Eleusinian mysteries exhibited cakes in the shape of the genital organs of men and women. Phallic cakes were offered as sacrifices in the temples of Pirapus and Venus. Cakes of a phallic character were also present at the German fertility festivals. Phalli of bread, which had been blessed by the priests, were carried, until quite recent times, in France at the Fête des Epines, a name for Palm Sunday. These consecrated phallic cakes were eaten by the women as a fertility charm. The hot cross-buns, which we now eat on Good Friday, originally were formed not in the shape of the emblem of the Christian religion, but of the female organs of generation. The fish, which was everywhere a sacred symbol of the fertility goddess, is still eaten on Friday (Freya-day) by Jew and Christian as an act of religious piety. This aquatic animal is also sacred in Christian art.

It is probable that tree-worship and animal-worship were different forms of sex-worship. The plants and animals were not worshipped for themselves but as symbols of the procreative powers. The bull, the goat, the cock and certain other animals were the emblems of the male generative force, while the female creative attribute was chiefly represented by the cow. The serpent, who

was an object of worship to almost every nation on the globe, has also been shown to be a sex symbol. The serpent, as is well known, was afterwards identified with the devil. The Easter lily is a survival of the ancient sex-symbolism. The *fleur de lys*, as the western counterpart to the eastern lotus flower, symbolizes the two principles of the fecundation. All trees, as a matter of fact, appear to have represented both generative attributes. "The bisexual symbolical character of the tree is intimated by the fact that in Latin trees have a masculine and feminine gender." The palm was a phallic symbol. It ranked highest among all the trees worshipped by the Egyptians. Palm Sunday seems to be a relic of pre-Christian worship. They May-pole is another survival of ancient phallic worship.

Primitive man looked for phallic symbols even among the stars of heaven. The sun represented man in creation, while the moon was the symbol of the woman's part in creation. The crescent, as the "lunar boat", is a phallic symbol. The ship is symbolic of the elliptic form of woman and was for this reason sacred to the goddess of fertility and femininity, whether it be Ishtar-Astarte-Ashtoreth of the Phoenicians and Assyrians, Mylitta of the Babylonians, Isis of the Egyptians, Aphrodite of the Greeks, Venus of the Romans, or Freya of the Scandinavians and Germans. The ship formed the centre of the carnival festivities in the West as in the East, and has survived to the present day in the form of the float.

The ship was the symbol of femininity among all the primitive races, and down to the present day a feminine pronoun is used in the languages of all civilized peoples in referring to a ship. Although at first the ship was sacred to the fertility goddess only, it later became the emblem of the fertility god as well. The gods of Egypt and of Greece were represented in boats. The ark of Jahveh was originally a ship, and the buildings erected to his worship had the form of a ship. In Christian iconography a ship is the symbol of the Church, and even today we speak of the nave of a church.

In popular belief the ancient fertility goddess, with whatever name we may name her, is succeeded by the Virgin Mary, who inherited her ship.¹ A number of images of the Holy Virgin on ships are found in Belgium and elsewhere in Europe. The Virgin Mary has become the patroness of sailors, who address their prayers to her as "Mary, Star of the Sea." In putting themselves under her protection when setting out to sea, they lay upon her altar silver or gold miniatures of their ships. A familiar medieval Latin hymn to the Virgin Mary begins as follows: "Ave Maria Stella Salve Regina Coeli, Gloriosa Domina."

These few disconnected notes will, the writer trusts, be sufficient to show to what extent our modern life still is impregnated with pagan customs and traditions.

Sunday Neurosis*

By Wilhelm Stekel, M. D., Vienna

It is the misfortune of new truths to be abused and finally to be robbed of their value by exaggeration and overvaluation. The temptation is irresistible to attempt to open all locks with the new-found key, to unbar all bolts and unlock all secrets. Ordinarily it is the re-discoverers who debase the new truth in this way, invoke it with the utmost recklessness, until they have successfully compromised the discoverer and transformed the truth into a lie,—a state of affairs which, one must admit—is the fate of all truths.

Psychoanalysis discovered the Oedipus-complex. Freud taught us that every neurotic child is in love with its parents. The boy loves his mother as his first sexual ideal. The world may take what attitude it will as to this discovery but its truth is confirmed by innumerable examples in everyday life, by the critical analysis of myths, fairy tales and works of art. But careful investigation proves that this Oedipus-complex (called so because Oedipus slew his father and married his mother) loses its terrors when one looks upon it as a quite normal phenomenon in nature. The home is the school for love.

First one loves oneself, then the immediate environment, one's kindred and household associates, and after puberty one frees oneself from these infantile ideals or remains a slave to one's family. But it is ridiculous to attempt to explain the multiplicity of all neurotic symptoms, the treasures of a complicated psychic malady, the abysmal darkness of a diseased soul, with the incest theory. For the Freudian psychoanalysts, the Oedipus-complex is now a willing handmaid, a wondrous sesame with which all secrets are solved and veils lifted.

The most recent example of this practice gives me the not unwelcome opportunity to discuss this important matter and to show the public how tenuous and superficial the apparent profundity of the orthodox analyst is. Every one has the opportunity to observe that some neurotics feel very bad on Sundays, complain of headaches, dizziness, weakness, depression, moodiness and, as Ferenczi ("Sunday Neurosis," in the *Internat. Zeitsch. f. Psychoanalyse*, 1919) correctly points out, "nervous tedium" and a "guilty sense of laziness." And after

*(The original of this essay was published in the "*Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft*," Vol. 6, August, 1919).

other holidays too there is often manifested a kind of Katzenjammer. Gastric pains and intestinal disturbances also mar the Sundays. Ferenczi had under his observation a young Jewish lad who was troubled with chills and vomiting every Sabbath eve. His parents attributed his illness to the custom of eating fish Friday nights and believed he had a peculiar idiosyncrasy against fish. But Ferenczi discovered other causes: Jews are accustomed to celebrate the Saturday with amorous rites. Love is obligatory on Saturday. "If then, says Ferenczi, "as a result of carelessness on the part of the parents, the youngster had beheld or overheard more than he should have known, there might have been formed in his mind a permanent association between fish as a generative symbol and those exciting occurrences. In this way his idiosyncrasy becomes intelligible, and his vomiting is explicable as the 'materialization' of the procedure he had witnessed. The shape of the fish suffices to constitute the bridge for the associations."

Let us assume that the analyst was right, although it is not clear why in the above case it was not really a matter of idiosyncrasy. The boy is assumed to have had an apprehensive premonition of what was coming and to have protected himself by disgust (vomiting), whereto his internal excitement reacted by a chill. The connection is by no means proved even though it may seem plausible. Are we really to believe that in adults such memories permeate the Sunday and beget the depression? Is the remembrance of the parents' Sabbath delights the cause of the Sunday neuroses of all adults?

Ferenczi's theory is illustrated in still another case. A man who was conscious of an undefined longing every Sunday recollects that even in his childhood he used to torment his mother with the vague request: "Mother, give me something!" "But no matter what his mother gave him he was unsatisfied; he continued to pester her till she gave him a good scolding or even spanked him; only then was he satisfied. Is it possible that behind this Sunday neurosis too there were such unsatisfied desires?" And the analyst continues: "In the last-named patient, notwithstanding my utmost desire at last to come across a variation in the motives underlying human conduct, psychoanalysis could discover only components of the Oedipus-fantasy as the hidden content of unconscious and punishable desires: a violent attack on authority and an impulse to overwhelm the parent of the opposite sex. Until experience teaches me something better I shall have to assign a similar motivation for the other holiday neuroses."

Everybody with a theory finds what he wants to find. My experience has brought me a very different viewpoint, a viewpoint which years of observation has substantiated. I can positively assert that the Oedipus-complex has nothing to do with the Sunday neuroses. Years ago I drew attention to the perils of idleness. (Cf. the chapter on "Idlers" in my book on "nervous

people.") A nervous person needs to be always at work, incessantly to divert his attention, because he cannot be alone, because he has a dreadful fear of empty space. (I gave this fear of emptiness the name *horror vacui*.) The Sunday is such a dangerous vacuum in which one confronts oneself and has to account to oneself for many things which do not reach consciousness during the week's tumults.

To be nervous means: to refuse to see something! Nervousness is a curtailing of one's mental field of vision! All neurotics employ their work as a distraction. Where work fails to do this, neurotic symptoms are utilized as distraction, excitements are created, and conflicts are initiated. So, for example, numberless neurotics used the war as a means of distraction and devoted themselves feverishly to the study of the military bulletins. Others employ politics, religion, art, or love for this purpose.) Even obsessive ideas, doubts and apprehensions serve this "not-wanting-to-see," create actual difficulties and serve to while away empty hours. Work is the greatest blessing. Those who are fanatics on the subject of work are very often neurotics who are constantly imposing tasks on themselves so as not to leave themselves a minute for thinking. They work even while they are riding from place to place, work till all hours of the night, never get done with their work, and yet are forever taking on new burdens. It is the Sunday and the vacation period that distinguishes these fanatics from normal persons. A healthy being relaxes on Sunday, can bear to be alone, can account to himself for the matters that came up during the week, can spend the day without doing anything, and enjoys the laziness that he has earned by a week's hard work. The neurotic fanatic makes his Sunday rest a hard day's work. He makes long trips and is continually studying the map or the prescribed route. He must have company, something to divert his attention from himself, and is ever imposing such tasks on himself as will involve a great rush and excitement at the end.

The many, discontented, unhappy, disappointed, embittered and outraged persons who have not renounced their great plans and grand dreams, the seekers after love who have not yet found their complement or who have bound themselves unfortunately,—and who, be it noted well, will not acknowledge their failure even to themselves—all these feel miserable, tired and tense during every lull in their work on their Sundays, holidays and vacations, and wage a violent conflict with their "buried desires" which are surging up towards consciousness. Their headache is always the sequel to such a suppression of their own thoughts. In the same category we include the long Sunday sleep which spins out our dreams to an excessive extent, affords them much time to develop, and permits them to penetrate our waking thoughts and have a determining influence on the mood of the day.

Rest of the spirit is an essential part of a real rest. A holiday is based on the need of rest from work that one has performed willingly and joyously and that one looks forward with pleasure to doing again. The sufferers from Sunday neurosis do not know the delights of working; and so they cannot know the delights of idleness, either. A healthy person becomes absorbed in himself on Sundays, whereas the neurotic flees from himself. Sunday neurosis is a bad sign. These neurotics cannot rest. They expel themselves from the paradise of idleness. The divine sparks of joyousness are quenched. The dull gray of discontent converts workdays and holidays into a medley of resignation and disappointment, of woeful sufferance and suffered woes. . . .

The orthodox Freudian takes no cognizance of the many finer and deeper motives. He is content with the key furnished by the incest-theory. According to him the neurotic has a bad Sunday because he "unconsciously" remembers the sexual occurrences in his parental home. Has not this one-sidedness been carried to the point of absurdity?

In this connection I would urge the German-speaking reader to read Siegfried Trebitsch's fine novel, *Weltuntergang* (World Cataclysm) published by S. Fischer, Berlin, in 1903. The book deals with a neurotic who is a very good and industrious fellow all week, but goes to pieces on Sunday. The artist proves to be a better psychologist than the analyst.

(Translated by S. A. Tannenbaum.)

The Baalschem Legend

By LEO KAPLAN, ZÜRICH.

Among various races and at different periods we encounter the legend of a hero whose destiny it is to measure his strength against a monster, be it a giant, dragon or some other brute force. Theseus and Siegfried are well-known examples of this legend. From the point of view of psychology great interest attaches to a version of this motive in a Jewish legend that is associated with the name of the founder of the Chassidical Sect, Rabbi Israel ben Elieser, named Baalschem (1700-1760).

The legend itself may be briefly summarized as follows (From Martin Buber, *Die Legende d. Baalschem*, Frankfurt a. M.): "Upon the death of his father Rabbi Elieser, the young Israel was placed under the tutelage of the pious elders of the community. And, as his time had come, they sent him to school. But Israel, who could not bear the narrow confines of the school, played the truant whenever possible, and ran off to the woods where he was happy with the trees and the animals. The pious elders, who were much concerned about him, sought again and again to persuade him to go to school; but at last they became convinced that their labors in behalf of the wayward boy were absolutely futile. And so they left him to his own devices. When he reached the age of twelve, he bound himself to the teacher as his assistant, charged with bringing the pupils to school and leading them safely back to their homes. The children who at first showed cheeks pale as ghosts, and eyes both timid and untimely wise, and who shuffled along with tired feet, soon showed a remarkable transformation. Day by day Israel led a merry, singing procession of children to school, and took his wards home again over a pathway that led through woods and meadows. The children's small and heavy heads no longer drooped languidly. They bore home with them flowers and verdant twigs and were as happy as if they were rulers of the world.

"At this, the Evil One began to burst with fear and hatred. He fashioned a hollow monster, that bristled with every horror and bore the grotesque image of something that lived. And when at last the hollow mask stood grinning before him, he took his own heart, a core from the core of darkness, and placed it in the interior of the beast.

"As Israel again led the singing children through the meadows, this were-wolf, a fallow monster with foaming chops, broke out from the thicket and fell upon the crowd. Some of the children fled in panicky fear, others sank to the ground senseless, or, terrified and dumb, crowded around Israel. The animal soon lumbered off but for days many among the little ones lay in a fever and troubled dreams.

"After a while, Israel marched out again with his boys, but when they reached the fatal meadow he commanded them to stop, and went out alone. And again the were-wolf, more frightful than before and spewing bloody venom from its gaping jaws, burst out from the thicket. But the boy Israel confronted it. The gigantic monster rose before his eyes as if its head were lodged in the clouds and its monstrous claws extended over the surface of the earth. But Israel went on undaunted. And now he stood in front of the monster's paunch. Soon there was no space between them, but still he went on, right into the body of the creature. At first he felt as if he were enveloped by a cloud, damp and cold as the grave, then he felt nothing more, and grey and heavy flakes began to fall all about him, and at last these too melted away and he was standing in the calm and open air, and there lay upon his hand a dark and trembling heart. He seized it and crushed it with his fingers. But as he did so, a deep and piteous cry reached his ears and drops of dark blood fell heavily to the ground. *Then came over Israel a great pity and he took compassion upon the sable heart and he felt that he had to free it from his grasp, irrespective of whether it was good or evil, the heart of Satan or the heart of God.*

But, for the children, those merry days returned no more. No matter how they sang or rejoiced, in their saner lives they were much saddened since they had seen the sable heart."

To a certain extent the young Israel is to be classed among the "dragon-fighters," if by dragons in a general sense we understand the monstrous. As we have seen, toward the end of our story the monster assumes gigantic proportions, its chops drip bloody venom,—traits that align it with the giant-dragon, such as appears, for example, in the Siegfried legend. But the "gigantic" is a symbol for parental authority,—the child thinks of the parents as beings who stand "over" him, to whom he is obliged to look up from below; whose might he cannot overcome; who, in a word, are "giants." And since this unsurpassable power very often confronts the child with threats and punishments, it assumes in the infantile consciousness the shape of something colossal and monstrous.

Israel was a stubborn boy who had no liking for school. In the eyes of the pious elders of Jewry this is a bad trait, well nigh sinful and even blasphemous. A similar stubbornness is observable, as a dominant trait, in the Siegfried of the *Lied vom Hurren Seyfrid* (Ed. by W. Golther, 2d ed., Halle a. S., 1911, p. 3.) There it is said of him:

The boy was full of mischief,
And eke so strong and tall
That his father and's mother
Were sadly vexed with all.
To no man would he e'er be
Submissive in his days.

It was out of his obstinacy that Siegfried leaves his parents. Because of this stubbornness the smith, his master, sends him to the charcoal burner in the forest, in the hope that the dragon lurking by the pathways may slay him. Even as the monster in the Baalschem legend seems intended to chastise soundly the stubborn Israel. For it is said in our story: ("The Evil Spirit) cried aloud in mad desire that he would fight against the all-too-forward Jack. His cry struck like a two-edged dagger into the heart of the Lord God, *"the patiently suffering head sank to his breast and the sorrowing hand was raised in token of assent."* Israel is, therefore, also a scoffer who defies the God-Father, for he is an "all-too-forward Jack."

Judging from these considerations, the meaning of the legend appears to be as follows: *The stubborn boy rebels against the paternal (divine) imperatives which should guide him through life. On the way to freedom and childish unrestraint he encounters the frightful apparition, i. e., the fatherly-divine admonition.—*

The significance of the conflict with the monster-dragon has been clearly explained by Nietzsche in his *Thus Spake Zarathustra*. In depicting the fight of the lion—the spirit—with the dragon, he says:

Which is the mighty dragon whom the spirit no longer calls "lord" and "god?" "Thou shalt", commands the mighty dragon. But the spirit of the lion says, "I will."

"Thou shalt" lies in his path like a scaly beast, sparkling like gold, and upon its every scale scintillates the golden legend, "Thou shalt" . . . "In sooth, there shall be no 'I will' henceforth!" Thus speaks the dragon.

"Thou shalt" is the inner voice of conscience. We often speak of "pangs of conscience," the bites of conscience. Popular consciousness conceives of conscience as a sort of monster that is forever threatening with its fangs. This idea seems to have had an influence even upon poets. Thus, in a medieval poet we find this passage:

For conscience is a worm a-gnawing at the heart,
Which evildoers teases and torments.

Zesen, Adriatic Rosenmund, 75.

Similarly, in Chamisso:

But there is still one judge who vengeance takes,
His name is conscience, and has plunged his claws
Into my heart with all his fearful strength.

The inner voice of conscience is thus objectified and confronts the individual in the guise of a threatening monster.

One of the remarkable psychic phenomena that we have to consider is that of polarity. It consists in the fact that "a certain phenomenon or reaction may give expression to two opposing tendencies, and also that any given expres-

sion may be given opposite interpretations. Thus, for example, a snake is a venomous reptile that causes death; but in the symbolic diction of many metaphysical and religious writers the serpent biting its own tail stands for eternity, the everlasting recurrence of events." (Cf. my *Psychoanalytische Probleme*, Vienna, 1916, p. 1.) "The word 'or' is usually employed to present an alternative, but from a logical point of view the word has also the connotation of 'and'. When we say, for instance, that 'John or Paul has done the mischief,' the meaning is clearly also, 'It is possible for both John and Paul to have done this mischief.' By means of the relation of exclusivity implied in 'A or B' we assert at the same time that both A and B belong to the same class of possibility." (Leo Kaplan, *Grundzüge d. Psychoanalyse*, p. 175.)

The figure of the diabolic monster in our legend also has this bi-polar character, as it denotes not only the inner restraining forces or the divine admonition but also their opposites, namely, the impulse to sinfulness. When Rabbi Elieser, Israel's father lay on his deathbed, he called his son to him and said: "My child, the Dark One will confront you at the outset, at the end, at every turn. . . He is the vessel that you must shatter to fragments. He is the chasm that you must bridge. *He is the residue of your own self.* He completes your circle, even as you complete his circle. . . . "The Dark One," the diabolic monster, is thus part and parcel of Israel's self, the evil, the sinful that dwells in his soul and has to be subdued. The conflict with the monster symbolizes the conflict with his own sinful desires. Hence the difficult nature of the struggle. The sable heart was lodged in Israel's own breast and he could not but have pity on it and release it, irrespective of whether it was good or evil.

The deep compassion which comes over Israel expresses the tragic situation: to crush one's heart with one's own fingers when one would fain release it! Small wonder that after the hero's "victorious" battle the children who witnessed the fight remain forever bowed in their inner lives and that their happy days are gone for ever. For Israel is but a projection from the souls of these children, an objectification of their psychic experiences.

* * * *

The struggle of the hero with the monster is, as we have remarked, a widespread saga motive. Many mythologists would explain this motive as a pure nature myth. Earnest Siecke (*Drachenkämpfe* [Dragon Fights], in *Mytholog. Bibl.* Vol. I, pp. 2-6, Leipzig, 1907.) has lately proposed a lunar solution of the problem. "Many races evidence in various forms a recurrent fable—for that is *myth*—of the struggle of a god or of a hero with a dragon or with a polymorphous monster. It can be shown that the true meaning of this myth is the fight, always and everywhere observable in nature, of a light-creating divinity with the demon that obscures the moon. This demon is so closely bound up with the moon that he may in fact be identified with the darkened

moon itself. The men of antiquity were unable to explain the nature of the moon, her waxing and waning, her growth and disappearance. And yet they could not but manifest a lively admiration for and interest in this mysterious being that, whenever present in the firmament, would banish the terrors of a lightless night and would give men a basis for the reckoning of time." What must have given an impetus to the formation of the myth was the belief that "this wondrous moon, with her mysterious origin and decline, with her restless transformations, must surely be a living organism, human or animal, but at any rate an organism of quite a peculiar nature. Whatever has growth and movement must have life. The dark moon or the darkness of the moon is the demonic monster that banishes light or, expressed more figuratively, swallows it. It is in this manner that the luminous divinity succumbs temporarily only to emerge victorious ever and anon. When the crescent rises resplendent, it is a sign that the struggle is won, that the monster's black head has been shattered and the dragon is dead."

It cannot be denied that the intellectual need of primitive man to explain the observed phenomena of nature in the simplest terms possible, was one of the roots of myth formation. We know, for instance, that animistically minded man is inclined to seek for active beings behind all phenomena; that is, he tends to explain the course of exterior events on the model of his psychic experiences. While animistic man is thus striving to formulate the course of nature, he unwittingly projects his own emotions upon the cosmos. Hence the division of constellations into good and evil, the attribution of erotic adventures to the moon, the sun, and the earth, as if they were human beings. *In his nature-myths primitive man reflects not only the course of the objectively observed phenomena of nature but at the same time also his own psyche.*

According to the lunar hypothesis of Siecke the black monster is in reality the moon itself. The dark and the light principle, the demonic and the divine, are only different phases of the same being, the moon. The latter is therefore, in terms of the psychological analysis of the myth, of a polar character.

The polarity of the moon myth is evident also in the fact that it can be comprehended from two opposing standpoints. The myth denotes either the victory of the god of light over the demon of darkness, or, conversely, the victory of the latter over the former. This uncertainty is the expression of man's indecision between good and evil, the divine and the demonic principle. In the Baalschem legend this vacillation is evidenced in Israel's compulsion to take pity on the sable heart and to release it, whether good or evil, Satan's heart or God's heart.—

The original form of the myth dealing with the struggle of the hero against a monster refers to the light being swallowed by darkness. This idea lends the material a new turn which is very important for our legend. The Greek fable,

for instance, relates that to save king Laomedon's daughter Hesione, who had been exposed to be drowned by a sea-monster, Hercules sprang into the monster's gullet, tarried there for three days, during which time, because of the intense heat of the intestines, *he lost all the hair of his head, and cut the monster's belly open from within*. Siecke's comment is: "This legend is a wonderfully preserved moon-myth; *the dragon and the virgin are of course identical*." (Siecke, op. cit. p. 15.) In other words, the hero—who, through his loss of hair, evidently denotes the child—enters into an intimate connection with the mother organism, from which it is soon to be reborn,—“he cuts the monster's belly open from within.”

The motive of being swallowed appears also in the biblical legend of Jonah. The prophet Jonah is sent by God to cry against the inhabitants of Nineveh. But Jonah takes to flight, and embarks upon a vessel. This, however, suffers a shipwreck and, because of his disobedience, Jonah is swallowed up by a whale. After a time and upon God's command Jonah is spewed forth by the whale. This event is glossed by a *midrasch* in the following way: "And Jonah was in the belly of the fish" (*Jonah*, 2, 1). The belly of the fish signifies the nether world. Whence do we infer this? Because it is said (*Jonah*, 2, 2): "Out of the belly of hell cried I." Jonah was in the bowels of the fish, and the scripture says, "the belly of hell." (*Aus Israel's Lehrhallen* [From Israel's Lecture Halls], ed. Pfeiffer, Leipzig, 1908, Vol. II, p. 55.)

The nether world, the realm of the dead, is the land of the souls, i. e., the place where may be found the dead as well as the yet unborn souls. And that is why it is said in the *Midrasch*: "'And the Lord spake unto the fish, and it vomited out Jonah upon the dry land.' *Jonah*, 2, 10). *When they that rest in the dust shall awake, then shall all the graves yield up the dead that are in them.*" (Pfeiffer, p. 56.) One dies, therefore, to be born again. The legend of Jonah, as in general the legend of being swallowed, is a *fantasy of rebirth*. The disobedient one, the sinner, the blasphemer, is swallowed up by the mother,—dragon, fish, earth,—that he may there to some extent be "made better." So, for example, the Cabbalists believed that the soul of one deceased enters into a new body. The rebirth is repeated until the perfected soul merges into the "ocean of divinity," into the absolute. In the case of Jonah also we see that the formerly disobedient mortal issues from the bowels of the fish submissive to the commands of God.

In the legend of Baalschem the boy Israel is also swallowed by the monster; for we read, "he entered into the creature." Then he is born to a new life, in order to appear as a great man and the founder of a religious community.—

In another connection we interpreted the monster issuing from the thicket as the outward projection of the sin-complex; in other words, Israel was identical

with the diabolical monster. The hero of the legend, Baalschem, is to some extent to be regarded as a rebel against God's authority, a tool of Satan himself.

The legend endows the hero with certain traits that stamp him as a wizard and necromancer. His very name, Baalschem, i. e., master of the wonder-working name of God, points to this. In Hebrew tradition the true name of God is a profound secret whose disclosure is tantamount to blasphemy. "If ever the name of a being expresses its underlying character, the name of God is that expression, the revelation of His essence. But inasmuch as the essence of the Godhead is absolute power, all-might, the very employment of His name must betoken a comprehension of His real being, an appropriation, as far as that is possible, of His divine power." (Erich Bischoff, *Die Kabbalah*, Leipzig, 1903, p. 8.) We read in the Cabbalistic book of *Rasiel*: "By merely giving utterance to the divine name of *Schem* one can banish the devil, extinguish fire, heal maladies, dissipate thoughts, and by pronouncing and writing his name one can destroy a foe and gain the love of a prince. The Divine name was the means by which Moses slew the Egyptians." (Apud Bischoff, op. cit. p. 86.) Baalschem is, therefore, to some extent, a human being who attempts to deprive God of his omnipotence,—in other words, a foe of God.

The name of an object is closely associated with that object. The name, therefore, can to some extent take the place of the object. If, for instance, *A* (as the proxy of *B*) undertakes something "in the name" of *B*, he is tantamount to *B*. Or if a public official asserts himself "in the name of the Law," he becomes through the use of this formula the Law itself. If, therefore, one knows the real name of God, he can act in the name of his God, that is, operate as the God himself. And so, for example, we read in a Cabbalistic myth about Lilith, Adam's first wife, that she wrought magic with the Name. When she wished to desert Adam, because she no longer loved him, "she uttered the unutterable name of God and rose into the winds of the world." Lilith is at once the mother of the Schedim (the devils) and the harbinger of evil for all mothers, as she is for ever bent on the destruction of the newborn. (*Sefer ben Sira*, Amsterdam, 1697, p. 26.) The utterance of the divine name, witchcraft and sorcery, belong to one category. (Words are the fossils of ancient lore and customs. To this day we speak of a person as one whose "name is one to conjure with."—Translator.)

The Baalschem legend speaks also of a Rabbi Adam who was well versed in the art of magic. When this Rabbi lay on his deathbed, he committed to the care of Israel the mystery-laden documents which he had in his keeping. Baalschem, the legend goes on to say, possessed some marvelous steeds that could transport him over hundreds of miles in a few minutes. By way of illustration we may reproduce the sensations of a tavern-keeper who once accompanied Baalschem on such a trip. "Soon enough the innkeeper began to feel quite

strange and queer, and it seemed to him that this was a journey whose like he had never made before. There was naught but darkness. At times it appeared as if they sped on deep under the paths of men, through mysterious passages in the earth below, and, then again, he felt that the way which they took was so devoid of weight, so light and transparent, as if they were flying above the clouds and through the thinnest air. They encountered no sound, no person, no animal, no place. His brain refused to work, for everything about and in him seemed to melt in sheer impermanence. (See Martin Buber, *op. cit.* p. 111.) All of which vividly recalls the journeys of the "magician and necromancer" Dr. Faust which he undertook with the aid of the Evil One.

To the religious, God represents omnipotence. The magician—and such we have observed Baalschem to be—arrogates omnipotence to himself and seeks in god-like ways to exercise his power over his fellowmen. Sorcery, then, is sheer presumption against the Divine will. The figure of Baalschem embodies a certain defiance, a revolt against the God of tradition.

God is the almighty, the stern justice, par excellence. The psalmist sings, "Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice with trembling!" (*Psalms*, II,ii.) But men become weary of serving in fear, and the eternal trembling before an all-powerful judge begets at last defiance. Then comes the religious revolt that attempts to undermine the old, traditional basis of faith. The keynote of revolt and mutiny is heard throughout the history of Jewish religious life. "No better proof is needed of how unsympathetically the people in general regard all these superfluous commandments than the fact that it gave up with little compunction the very laws to which it had been accustomed for centuries, as soon as he who proclaimed himself Messiah succeeded in winning its confidence and arousing its faith in his mission. It stands to reason, therefore, that these laws were to the people nothing but a hoary burden which it observed through mere compulsion." (S. H. Horodezky, *Zwei Richtungen in Judentum* [Two Tendencies in Jewry] in *Archiv. f. Religionswissenschaft*, XV, p. 121.) The Cabbalist Abraham Abulafia, who lived in the thirteenth century, says, "*The traditional doctrines are for the simpletons*, the hidden lore (i. e. the Cabbala) is for the wise men. . . . Obedience to the laws according to the traditions for the *uncivilized and the profane*. (*ibid.* p. 125.) Similarly do we perceive the revolt against religious tradition in the following words of the Cabbalistic *Sefer Hakoneh*: "They (i. e. the Rabbis) enforce absurdities as the laws proclaimed by Moses on the Mount of Sinai." (*ibid.* p. 125).

The same rebellious spirit is manifested in the teachings of the sect of Chasidim which was founded by Baalschem. Loeb Szerham, a disciple of Beer, the successor of Baalschem, said: "I visited Beer in Mizrach not to hear the *Thora* (i. e., new talmudic subtleties) but to see how he takes off his shoes and how he ties them. That is a more important matter. What is the *Thora*? The

man himself must be the Thora, in his dealings, movements, speech, demeanor and his relations with God." (Graetz, *History of the Jews*, I, 114, Leipzig, 1870.).

The protest against the harsh discipline of religious tradition receives its clearest expression in the words of Baalschem himself, as he says, "(Man) should reprove his neighbor out of love and should rebuke no man. And when his brother transgresses, he should seek to find justification for it: *the soul of a man is laden with a heavy body, and therefore he cannot control his senses.*" (Horodezky, op. cit. p. 134.) Since all religion may be symbolized by a monstrous dragon that never ceases to bellow its "Thou must," and seeks to weave about the life of the individual a gigantic network of rules and prescriptions, Chasidism protests against it in these words: "man should not practise superfluous pedantry; . . . *there is no 'must' for mankind.*"

To be able to make a correct estimate of this religious revolt, it is advisable to bear in mind that its basis is a conflict of a social character. The maintenance of social order is, in the first instance, in the interest of the capitalistic or ruling class. In every uprising, when "wild" impulses are unfettered, the well-to-do and the mighty stand to lose most. It is, therefore, natural that the upper social class become the guardian of "right and morals." This class, too, is the keeper of the most effective means not only for promoting science but also for retaining it in the service of capitalistic interests. There arises, therefore, an estrangement between the upper and the lower classes, a social tension that seeks with increasing impatience to burst. God, the Almighty, is the guardian of law and order, par excellence, hence also of the social order which it is the task of the upper class to defend against the wanton desires of the lower. For this reason the social revolution, the revolution, therefore, against inherited social privileges, often assumes the aspect of a revolt against God.

This social discord, colored with a religious aspect, is found in bold outlines even in the Talmud. For, in the Talmud we may distinguish two contradictory tendencies, namely, the *Halacha*, which was predominantly of a law-giving character and, in sharp antithesis with the *Agada*, which laid the greater stress on ethical and moral values. "Generally in the Talmud, the *Agada* was pitted against the *Halacha*. Whilst the latter based the essence of Judaism on studies and the Law, the former founded it on pure religious feeling and the beliefs of the heart . . . (The *Agada*) chose Korach, the foe of Moses, as the mouth-piece of its criticism. Korach, the dissenter, who, according to the Bible, was a contemporary of Moses and a witness of all his 'miracles' as well as God's revelations on Mount Sinai, and—yet found fault with Moses. For the cause of the *Agada*, none could have been a better choice;—he brought the charge against Moses that he established the laws solely in his own and his family's interests. When the Ten Commandments were given to us, speaks the Agadist

in the name of Korach, each one of us heard them directly from Mount Sinai; there was nothing but the Ten Commandments, nothing about sacrificial cake, or offerings to the priests, or tassels. "*Moses has added all these matters for the sole purpose of seizing the reins of authority and of raising his brother Aaron to a state of honor.*" (op. cit. p. 112.) The Agadists, therefore, mince no words in defining the social background of their religious revolt,—laws exist but to satisfy the ambitions of the ruling classes, to place the burden of the social order upon the shoulders of the lower classes.

Chassidism, too, which is only a continuation of the traditions of the Agada, is the expression of class conflicts. "The rule of the Rabbis is altogether too remote from the people; it looks upon the uneducated masses as the negligible part of the nation; it brings about a breach between the upper and the lower strata, between the masses and those versed in the lore of the Talmud. But Chassidism definitely turns its face toward the lower classes; it calls to them, 'Never despair! Every Jew is a part of the Godhead. Every Jew bears within him a share of the Holy Ghost, every Jew is called a Zaddik, a righteous man'." (op. cit. pp. 129-130.)

The historian Graetz writes: "Two reasons have favored the growth of the Neo-Chassidic movement, *the brotherly ties that bound the members of the order intimately to one another*, and the dry and pedantic character of the study of the Talmud as it has been practised in Poland for more than a century. From the very outset of their career the Chassidim formed a sort of fraternity which took material care of the indigent members—without, at the same time, keeping strict accounts. The well-to-do Chassidian considered it a matter of conscience to assist a Zaddik liberally. . . . The Zaddik, in turn, however much he might be inclined to avarice, was obliged to contribute part of his income to the poor and the needy. (A situation not dissimilar to that of the Pope's who is expected to practise benefaction from the eleemosynary Peter's pence which are annually contributed by the faithful Catholics.—Translator's note.) *In this way every member in need found help.* (Graetz, op. cit., pp. 112-113.)

The doctrines of Chassidism, therefore, sought to bring about a certain social reconciliation. That this attempt was destined to fail, as all movements of the sort that do not touch the reasons for social inequalities are bound to fail,—is easily comprehensible to the student of social currents and tendencies. But within the limits of a purely psychological study we cannot go more fully into this subject.

CONCLUSION

A child gets all the imperatives that are to guide its thoughts and deeds from its parents. The parents, in their turn, receive these principles from their forebears. In the last analysis, then, the imperatives originate in a mythical

forefather who is located in heaven and adored as God. As long as mankind adheres to the principle of an Ur-father, as long as man invests his moral and legal precepts with a religious coloring, his social revolt is bound to bear a religious character. It is for this reason that all revolutionary outbreaks occurring within a definite religious circle, appear to be only reformatory attempts, as improvements upon traditional religious norms.

The Ur-father principle expresses the conservative tendencies of society which serve, predominantly, the class interests of the well-to-do. From another point of view it is also the expression of parental authority over the offspring. The double aspect explains the fusion of the social-religious revolt with the infantile resentment at the rigor of parental discipline. *The actual social and religious clash recalls to life the repressed infantile conflict and mobilizes those repressed energies (affects).* In other words, the repressed affects of childhood can be utilized for the solution of social problems. (The phenomenon of affect-displacement accompanied by a change in meaning.)*

*For further information relative to this matter, see Leo Kaplan, *Grundzüge der Psychoanalyse* (Fundamentals of Psychoanalysis) p. 23, also his *Psychoanalytische Probleme*, pp. 13 and 155.)

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